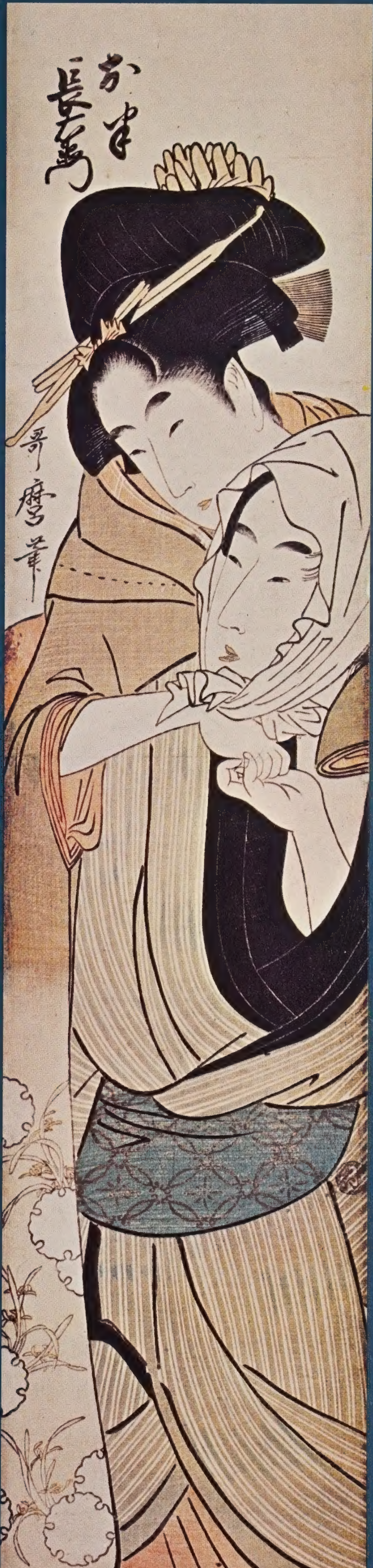
Images of Eighteenth-Century Japan

David Waterhouse



Images of Eighteenth-Century Japan

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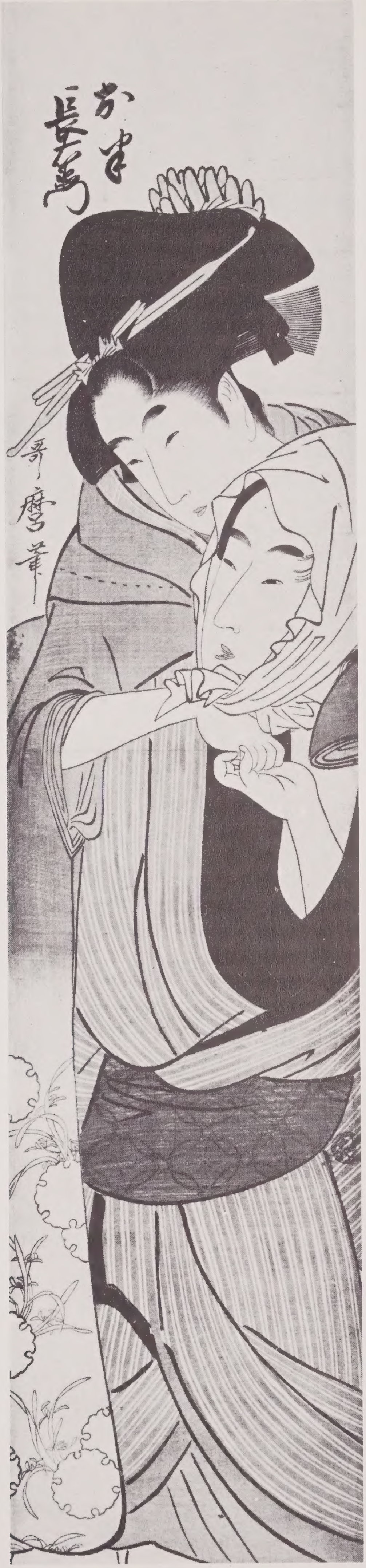
Ukiyoe Prints from the Sir Edmund Walker Collection

Royal Ontario Museum,
Toronto



David Waterhouse

ROM

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Foreword

The collections of the Royal Ontario Museum's Far Eastern Department are known to be vast and many-faceted. Efforts have been made, over the past decade, to exhibit and to publish various aspects of these holdings so that they will be both more accessible and more comprehensible. Specialists have been called upon to provide their expertise in the necessary research and compilation.

This catalogue of a small but highly important part of the Sir Edmund Walker Collection of Japanese woodblock prints owes its existence to the efforts of Professor David B. Waterhouse, long a Research Associate of the Museum's Far Eastern Department and a staff member of the University of Toronto's Department of East Asian Studies. His combination of literary knowledge and experience of almost every major collection in this field through Europe and North America was essential to this work. The Far Eastern Department's presentation of an exhibition honouring the catalogue is a modest form of thanks for his labours.

The catalogue and exhibition also honour the source of these valued works of art. Sir Byron Edmund Walker was Chairman of the Royal Commission on University Affairs which urged the foundation of a provincial museum as early as 1906. He became the first Chairman of the Museum Board, serving from 1912 to 1924. His contributions to Canada as a whole were many, but the Museum owes to him its very existence as an institution. Sir Edmund gave objects to the Museum from 1914 through 1924. These varied from a fossil collection to the Museum of Invertebrate Palaeontology to the Japanese woodblock print and book collection honoured almost half a century later. This catalogue and exhibition represent the Museum's gratitude for Sir Edmund's benefactions to this institution as a whole.

Hsio-Yen Shih
Curator, Far Eastern Dept.

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Introduction

I The life and work of Sir Edmund Walker are part of the history of Toronto, of Ontario and of Canada: and yet today, fifty years after his death, probably few Canadians know more than just his name, if they are aware of his existence at all. It is the purpose of this catalogue to introduce his collection of Japanese prints, which was left to the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, and which, in the words of C.T. Currelly, was "made with the full idea of its being for the people of Ontario"[1]; and the primary aim of this introductory essay will be to show how that collection, the only extensive one in Canada, came to be formed. Nevertheless it seems right to include here some sketch of a man who contributed so much to the development of Canadian culture, and who was perhaps the most distinguished of all collectors of Japanese prints.[2]

Byron Edmund Walker was born on 14 October 1848, on a farm in Seneca Township, near Hamilton, Ontario. Both his parents were the children of English immigrants, and the story of his family is not unlike that of many other early settlers. It should be remembered that in 1848 the nation of Canada had not yet come into existence. Ontario was a British enclave existing sometimes uneasily between Quebec on the one side, and the United States on the other; and the country to the West was a vast wilderness inhabited mostly by Indians and fur traders. The young Walker lived through both the American Civil War and Canadian Confederation: and these great events must have coloured his approach to life. He early recognised the great economic opportunities which Canada offered; but he was also to become one of the strongest advocates of a national and distinctively Canadian approach to the financial and other problems generated by economic growth. At the same time he saw the importance of fostering education and knowledge of the arts in this new country. His attitude may be illustrated by quoting part of a note he wrote when the University of Toronto burned down in 1890:

> . . . Suddenly, from a window I saw a great light in the sky, and in a few minutes everybody seemed to know that the University was on fire. . . . After a night of tragic excitement we knew that the building was mainly gutted, the Library and much else totally destroyed, that which represented the highest life in the Province of Ontario was in ruins. . . . At this sad moment, thousands of citizens, like myself, realized for the first time that the University was the most important institution in Canada apart from the Government itself. Every high hope we held for the future of this country depended mainly upon our system of education, and that which set the standard in education for all Canada was in ruins.[3]

Walker felt this loss all the more keenly because he was mainly self-educated, and always regretted that he did not himself attend university. But family life was a stimulus. "At home", he said, "I never heard money talked about, except perhaps the need of it, which was always the case. We talked about flowers, music, fossils, science, a new poem or novel – nothing very learned or difficult. I was taught to appreciate that the truth regarding nature was the divine thing, and that we must learn it so far as it is possible."[4] Darwinism was in the air at that time, and it is plain that Walker was deeply influenced by evolutionary theory. From this he derived his interest in palaeontology, and for this reason too he was able to write, in a lecture on "Early Italian Painters" (1894), "For my own part, the period of growth in an art movement is the most interesting."[5] We shall see presently that his interest in Japanese prints was similarly tinged by this approach.

Walker's parents moved to Hamilton while he was a young boy, and he briefly attended school there. In 1861, however, at the age of twelve, he entered his uncle's office, whose business was currency exchange, and so determined his future profession. In 1868 he joined the newly formed Canadian Bank of Commerce as a discount clerk, and with that institution he remained for the rest of his life. He was made general manager of the bank in 1886, at the age of thirty-eight, and president in 1907. Under his leadership the Bank of Commerce became the largest bank in Canada, with branches throughout the Dominion, and a body of great power and wealth. For the benefit of American readers it should be explained that the Canadian banking system differs greatly from that in the United States, in that the scene is dominated by a few very large chartered banks, with operations extending over the whole country. The system more resembles that of Britain, though direct inspiration in fact came from the first Bank of the United States set up by Alexander Hamilton. Another feature of the Canadian system is the absence of fixed reserve requirements, which makes possible a more flexible lending policy.

The persistence of both these characteristics of the Canadian system is largely due to Sir Edmund Walker. Before being appointed general manager, he spent two periods in New York as an agent of the Bank of Commerce, from 1873 to 1875, and from 1881 to 1886. As a result he came to know the American banking system at first hand, and was a strong critic of what he considered to be its weaknesses. He was also convinced that it was unsuited by nature to Canada. During decennial revisions of the Bank Act between 1880 and 1913 he wrote reports and pamphlets urging the merits of the Canadian system, and led deputations to Ottawa to reason with Ministers who were ready to convert to the American way. On all these occasions his authority and the logic of his arguments seem to have prevailed.

Walker wrote extensively and gave many public addresses on the subject of banking. His style is lucid and forceful, and he had the gift of explaining these complicated matters in language which a layman could understand. One of his recurring themes was the responsibility of banks to society and to the country generally – a responsibility which applied *a fortiori* to the large Canadian banks. He also considered that he as a wealthy banker had personal duties to society. Thus he was: a Trustee of the University of Toronto for thirty-two years, serving successively as Senator, member of the Board of Governors, Chairman of the Board and Chancellor; first Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Royal Ontario Museum; Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Canada (having served also as Chairman of the Advisory Arts Council); President of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art (which, *inter alia,* sponsored the murals in the old Toronto City Hall); President of the Art Museum of Toronto (now the Art Gallery of Ontario); Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Toronto Conservatory of Music (now the Royal Conservatory of Music); Honorary President of the Mendelssohn Choir; founder and President of the Champlain Society (which edits and publishes documents of early Canadian history); founder of Appleby School for Boys, Oakville, Ontario; member of the Board of Education of Toronto; a trustee of Toronto General Hospital; President of the Royal Canadian Institute; President of the Canadian Bankers' Association; member of the National Battlefields Commission, the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and of numerous other public committees and commissions. In 1919 he was made Honorary Consul-General of Japan for Toronto. He was made C.V.O. in 1908, was knighted in 1910, and received many other honours and awards which it would be tedious to mention.

In all these cases, Walker's participation was far from nominal, as a glance at his correspondence reveals immediately. In working for the University of Toronto, for example, he first recommended sweeping changes in the method of keeping accounts, and was thereafter deeply involved in raising and administering money for the university, as well as in university affairs generally.[6] In working for the foundation of the Art Museum of Toronto, he was responsible for persuading Mrs. Goldwin Smith to bequeath her house, The Grange, as its location. In working for the Advisory Art Council and for the National Gallery, he was directly concerned with the selection of paintings, and it was characteristic of him that, though attracted personally towards early Italian art, he urged the acquisition of works by Canadian artists.[7]

It was his work for the Royal Ontario Museum, however, which gave Walker most satisfaction. Dr. C.T. Currelly, the first Director, had frequent occasion to seek his advice, especially in regard to raising money; and his tribute is worth quoting:

> The museum has always owed a great deal to Sir Edmund Walker. He was in it practically every day, and talked about it nearly everywhere he went, and he had such a name that his words carried weight. In his address at a dinner celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his entering the Canadian Bank of Commerce, he stated that of all the things he had been connected with in his life, no other thing had advanced as rapidly as the museum. Sir Edmund had an extraordinary power of creating enthusiasm. His smile was a great asset to any institution in which he was interested. I remember once we had obtained a young girl as a stenographer. When she had been with us a few weeks something arrived and was unpacked, and when she saw it I heard her say: "Oh, my, won't Sir Edmund be glad to see that!" Every object that came in gave him delight, and though he was capable of feigning it in order to keep enthusiasm going, I think it was always real in connection with the museum. Few men have been more eager for the development of this country, or more eager to learn all they could about works of art. His memory was amazing. In times of discouragement, and there were plenty of them, his smile seemed to alter everything.[8]

At the same jubilee dinner, Walker said: "I have always believed intensely in Canada . . . I am very conscious of what it means to have been born in Canada, and I can think of no privilege so great as to have founded any good and enduring thing in this country. I know the value of money, but I should rather have created one of the institutions of my country than to possess millions."[9]

Sir Edmund Walker died on 27 March 1924, eight months after his wife. He had accompanied the Mendelssohn Choir on a trip to the United States, and he caught a cold which turned to pneumonia. The account which we have given of his life presents only the outward aspects of a man whose private self seems to have been somewhat elusive. It is said of him that he had many acquaintances but few friends, and that he found it difficult to get close to the ordinary man. Indeed, some of his pronouncements are so large-minded as to sound *de haut en bas,* and his evolutionary fervour has a dated look today, when we are more conscious of the decay – through pollution and so on – that quickly follows on a period of "growth." But Walker was devoted to his wife and family, and when on his travels wrote long and affectionate letters to them. His collection of Japanese prints, too, represents a more personal side of the man, and it is to this amiable relaxation of the busy public figure that we turn in the following section.

II As a collector, Sir Edmund Walker specialised first in palaeontology, and in 1904 he gave his large collection of specimens, together with a library of books, to the University of Toronto. His interest in art was quickened during the years spent in New York, when he was a frequent visitor to the Metropolitan Museum and other galleries. He and his wife also were great readers, Robert Browning being a favourite author – not least for his links with Italy and Italian art. As an art collector, however, Walker turned to Canadian artists such as Harlow White, Paul Peel, Edmund Morris and others, to the Barbizon School and to Dutch art.[10]

It appears (from a statement of C.T. Currelly)[11] that when in New York he also began collecting Japanese prints, which would make him among the first in North America to become interested in this subject. I am uncertain when Bigelow, Ross, Buckingham, the Spaulding brothers and other American pioneers began collecting, but they cannot have preceded Walker by many years. In Europe, the great French collections of Japanese prints were mostly started during the 1870s and the two decades thereafter: the Japanese dealer Tadamasa Hayashi, who helped Edmond de Goncourt with his books on Utamaro and Hokusai, was importing large numbers of prints to Paris from the middle 1870s onwards, and was chief supplier to the collectors there.

However, it was especially during the last fifteen years of his life that Walker collected seriously and systematically. In 1909 Currelly met him in London, and took him to see various dealers, through one of whom "he bought a large number of Japanese prints for his collection."[12] In 1913 Walker was again in London, and found time to meet such literary and artistic figures as W. Somerset Maugham, Mrs. Holman Hunt and the artist-collectors Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon. The Walker papers include a letter from Shannon which well conjures up the artistic atmosphere of the day:

Lansdowne House,
Lansdowne Road,
Holland Park, W.
June 9th 1913

Dear Sir Edmund,

I have taken upon myself the responsibility of sending you Ricketts recent book of essays on art matters – I somehow feel that you will like the work – The essays touch on various subjects including my humble self (but you must not think it is on that account that I am sending it though I am very proud to be there) I like particularly the article on Puvis de Chavannes. It states many things about him for the first time – The one on Conder is exquisite I think. The [one] on Post Impressionism will interest you I think. It will be something for you to read on the return journey, if you havent time at present – I bought a beautiful Yeishi at the sale and a lovely Utamaro which is also satisfactory at my moderate prices. If by any chance you are staying some days longer and care again to see some prints I expect to be back in London next Friday – I am leaving for the seaside for a few days – If I do not see you again I should like to say how pleased I was to meet you, and to find one so appreciative in the matter of Japanese art is a rare thing I assure you.

Believe me yrs. sincerely
Charles Shannon

Ricketts and Shannon were avid collectors of Japanese prints, especially Harunobu,[13] and Ricketts had designed costumes for *The Mikado* which reflect his love for this artist. Perhaps the meeting with this unconventional pair helped to influence Walker's taste, and to rekindle his enthusiasm, for on 29 December of the same year we find him writing to Shozo Kato in London: "I am anxious to improve my collection of Japanese prints by examples of men not later than Utamaro and Yeishi, and better than those I had the pleasure of buying from you." On 10 February of the following year Walker also wrote to Frederick W. Gookin, the well-known Chicago collector and connoisseur, c/o the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York:

Dear Mr. Gookin:

You may remember me as a friend of Henry Ware in the old days when you were a banker in Chicago.
I did not, notwithstanding your inspiration, take up the collection of Japanese prints till a few years ago. I have now quite a number, and in connection with a large collection of which a very small percentage are desirable, and which is under offer to me, there are some by Harimobe [*sic:* typing error] and earlier men regarding which I should very much like to consult you.

I expect to be in New York next week, and I write to know if I may call for that purpose. If your official position makes it impossible, or if there is any other reason, I am sure you will frankly let me know.

With kind regards, I am,
Yours sincerely

Gookin was living in Chicago, and so the meeting could not take place, but he sent a cordial reply to Walker, dated 17 February, which was the beginning of a long correspondence between the two men. Part of his letter reads: "As you doubtless know, really fine prints by the earlier men are scarce and valuable, but poor copies and modern imitations are not so hard to obtain. Some of the fraudulent Harunobu prints are quite deceptive. A lot of them were made about twenty years ago, and are coming out now that they begin to look a little less new."

Walker replied on 24 February, apologising for having mistaken Gookin's address. He says he went over about fifty early prints with Bunkyo Matsuki (of New York), and reports: "The bulk of them I believed to be genuine, but I was suspicious regarding four or five. Of this lot of fifty about fifteen were by Harunobu, and about twenty older than him, but not very fine." He goes on to say: "The collection is one which was made in Paris many years ago and has been in Canada now for several years. I have known about it, but could make no satisfactory arrangements as to price until recently." On 19 June he announced to Shozo Kato that "I have become the owner of the balance of the collection of Japanese prints, about which I spoke to you when last in London."

I have not discovered who was the original owner of this collection, or how it came to Canada, and it is impossible now to identify specific prints from it. It is, however, likely that some Harunobu and earlier prints in the Walker collection remain from it. On 8 March Gookin replied to Walker's letter at some length, expressing a desire to see the prints in question "and especially those by Harunobu as I am trying – though it is a long and a slow task – to compile a catalogue raisonné of that artist's works."[14] Gookin also invited Walker to attend what he called a "Print Fest" at which many of the leading American collectors were expected to be present. "Strange as it may seem this is the first attempt yet made to get all of the group together at one time. It will afford a rare opportunity to make the acquaintance of fellow enthusiasts and to look at choice prints in their company."

Walker was unable to attend this gathering, but over the next ten years, and probably through Gookin, his name seems to have become familiar to American collectors, some of whom sold him – or tried to sell him – their prints. The Walker papers include correspondence with Judson D. Metzgar, who had an outstanding collection of Hiroshige, and with A.D. Ficke, well-known in his day as a poet and as a writer of Japanese prints. In 1916 Walker bought forty-three prints from Metzgar, to whom he wrote on 30 January 1917: "My interest has mainly been in the earlier artists, including Hokusai, but not including Hiroshige to any great extent." In 1916 he also bought six prints from Tokumatsu Ito of Chicago;[15] and in 1920 he bought several at the New York sale of prints from Ficke's collection, and afterwards corresponded with him.

During these years, Gookin was acting for Walker, and on several occasions purchased prints for him at New York sales. On 30 April 1918 Walker wrote to him: "One of the reasons why I hesitate to spend money, apart from those already advanced, is that I am publicly preaching the doctrine of not spending money outside of Canada and what I am doing is very inconsistent with my profession. Nevertheless if you should secure one of the triptychs of Kiyonaga or if, in buying any prints by Harunobu, you should run beyond $500, say to $750, I shall be only too glad to have the advantage of your experience in making the purchases."

It was only rarely that the two men were able to meet, though almost every letter from Gookin contains an earnest invitation to Walker to visit Chicago. In 1917 Walker sent a telegram to Gookin, among many others, to congratulate him on American entry into the Great War. Gookin rose to the occasion with some carefully constructed prose (3 April): "Much as I hate war, it rejoices my soul that at last the United States should throw her weight into the great conflict and prepare to battle for the principles upon which our government rests. From the very beginning it has seemed to me plain that the contest was between the forces of autocracy and of democracy, that the precious liberty for which our ancestors struggled and died was at stake, and that it was our manifest duty to join those who were not only defending themselves from brutal aggression but were upholding for all the world the cause of human rights, without which civilization is only a hollow mockery . . . In times like these it is difficult to think of anything save the stupendous trajedy [*sic*] that is being enacted in Europe. Yet some relief is necessary, and I have been hoping that before this I should have the pleasure of seeing you in Chicago and of having a day or two with you over Japanese prints. Isn't there a chance that you may get here sometime this spring?"

It was, however, the spring of 1918 before we find Gookin writing (9 March): "It is indeed rather hard to believe that I am actually to have the pleasure of seeing you in Chicago . . . "–Walker having been invited to address a railwaymen's convention there.[16]

In March 1919 Sir Edmund Walker, accompanied by his daughter, set out for Japan, Korea and China, and spent the greater part of spring and summer in the Far East. In preparation for this trip, Gookin sent him (9 February) many letters of introduction to friends there who were knowledgeable in Japanese prints, such as S. Yamanaka and J.S. Happer ("Happer has done more than any other person to develop interest in prints among the Japanese"). He also hoped Walker would meet Frank Lloyd Wright ("now in Tokyo to superintend the erection of the new Imperial Hotel which he has designed and which will be a very notable building"). Gookin continues: "Frank Wright I think you know something about. He is a fascinating, adorable, and utterly irresponsible genius, full of magnetism, selfish to the extent of violating all the conventions if he sees fit; and an artist to his finger tips. I know of no better judge of the quality of prints, though I think he sometimes overvalues those he happens to own – a not uncommon trait against which one has always to be on guard."

As President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, and as one of Canada's leading men, Sir Edmund Walker was received in Japan with due honour and ceremony; and, having long been interested in Pacific affairs through his work for the Bank, he was naturally eager to study and discuss Japanese social and economic conditions at first hand. In the circumstances, he was not able to follow up many of Gookin's introductions, and it was three months after his return before he found time to report (24 December):

> While I brought back over one hundred prints there are scarcely one-tenth of that number of distinct high interest. I am longing to get to Chicago in order to have a talk with you regarding the print situation in Japan. The things one has imagined as possible to be obtained there are really almost impossible to find and indeed only seem to come out in occasional sales when collections are broken up as in the United States. I heard much about Mr Wright's wonderful prints and indeed I saw most of them and this alone is a subject I wish to talk to you about. I fear he has been the victim of cleverly planned frauds in reprinting in whole or in part the coloured parts of otherwise fine but faded prints.

Gookin replied on 28 December, in a letter which deserves some extended quotation:

> Mr. Happer has written me that you had a narrow escape from being "taken in" by a lot of revamped prints which he admits had passed his scrutiny without the overprinting being detected. I am truly glad both for your sake and his that the fraud was discovered in good time. You will remember that when you were here en route for Japan, I cautioned you about that particular form of faking. Since you left Tōkyō the dealers have united in an association the members of which pledge themselves not to exhibit or sell any overprinted prints, and severe financial penalties are provided for any infractions of the compact. How efficacious it will prove remains to be seen. There was quite a row before everyone was brought into line. Murata Kimbei was forced to refund some thousands of yen and to take back a lot of the faked prints under threat of criminal prosecution. Now the association has elected Messrs Watanabe, Sakai and one other to pass upon prints and certify to their genuineness and integrity. Frank Wright wants to know where they will acquire the necessary discernment, since every one of them admits having been "caught" at one time or another in recent months. And now to cap the climax, the Committee that passed upon the prints offered for sale at the Mura-Kim auction held in October, rejected one offered by Mura-Kim himself which he had recently purchased! All the dealers except Mura-Kim shrieked with delight that the biter was bit. There is no doubt that much of the work of regeneration is exceptionally clever: but, on the other hand dealers' jealousy leads to much false ascription of faking, unless I am greatly mistaken.
>
> Now as to Frank Wright. He is an extraordinarily keen judge and while he admits having acquired some overprinted prints, most of them were bought knowingly and others were returned when he examined them carefully and discovered the fraud. I have examined a large number of the prints he brought back with him in October, and, having heard in advance that "70% of them were faked" (If literally true, this would mean upwards of a thousand of the fakes) I tried my best with every aid I could summon to discover evidences of faking but quite without success. That I may have missed something is quite possible for I did not in all instances have copies of unquestionable integrity at hand for intimate comparison. But in some cases where the question of overprinting had been raised I did make such comparisons without finding any trace of anything wrong with the Wright prints.
>
> Wright has offended all of the Tōkyō dealers and I have little doubt that they would "put up a job on him" if they could. At an Exhibition held in Tōkyō in May which you may have visited, there were a number of Harunobu prints shown that he contributed to the Exhibition. These were all passed upon by the Committee in Charge, who were, I think, Messrs Watanabe, Suwa and Sakai. During the exhibition a story was put in circulation, that 70 to 80 per cent of these prints were overprinted fakes. That they were fakes I very much doubt, even though as Mr. Happer says, "they were the laughing stock of the Exhibition". Conceding that they were, then the queries arise, did the Committee recognize them as such when they selected them from what Wright offered? Or were the members of the Committee deceived by them? In other words did they deliberately plan to show him up, or was the circulation of the libel an afterthought? Were the Committee responsible for the libel, for libel it certainly was, whether well or ill founded. There are people who hold that Wright may himself have participated in the frauds by getting Mura-Kim to do overprinting for him and under his supervision. Although Wright's ethical code differs from mine, I cannot think he would stoop to anything of the kind. Moreover I do not believe he is so devoid of ordinary common sense, for he sells prints to the leading collectors and he knows that they would be sure to discover the fraud were it committed and would make him pay heavily for it. I tell you of this not to prejudice you against Wright, but to let you know the stories that are travelling about. What evidence of overprinting you saw when you looked over his prints I should be much interested to hear about. . . .

Gookin also reports that he has sold "the major part of my print collection" to the Spaulding brothers. We do not have Walker's reaction to Gookin's letter, and I cannot discover if he made any additions to his collection after 1920. As it stands, the Walker collection contains something over 1000 prints: it is strongest in the work of Harunobu and his predecessors, from Kiyomasu II onwards; and in Utamaro, Eishi and their contemporaries. There is also a good representation of prints by Shunshō and his school. The landscape prints of the nineteenth century are less good, with the exception of certain Hiroshige: but the collection as a whole is balanced, and there are constant surprises – a superb Kunisada landscape, a fine Kuniyoshi triptych, a hilarious triptych by Yoshikazu showing Washington, D.C. – and so on. When one considers Sir Edmund Walker's public career, it is remarkable that he found time to collect Japanese prints at all; still more remarkable that he was able to put together a collection which shows so much taste and discernment. To quote Currelly again, "The collection was made with the view of showing the complete evolution of the art, its beginnings, its struggles, its culmination and its decline. It is a true collection, not a selection of rarities."[17]

III The time is not yet ripe for a general reassessment of Japan in the eighteenth century, the period with which this catalogue is concerned. It is, however, clear that after about 1715 the general tone of Japanese culture began to change in important ways; and that after about 1765 there were further important changes, whose direct effects lasted until about 1805. Traditional Japanese chronology of course does not use the Christian era, but when one thinks of the two culture-periods just defined, it is possible to regard them both as "eighteenth-century" and as distinct in character from what preceded and what followed. Unfortunately the account given of these periods in Japanese cultural histories leaves a great deal to be desired, and only a handful of writers have turned their attention to eighteenth-century literature, art, music, theatre, thought and customs. The economic and political history of the period have been studied in some depth–but that is of limited help to the student of *ukiyoe.* The present book is, therefore, also offered as a compendium of material for the study of eighteenth-century Japan: but no attempt will be made here to draw superficial conclusions from it. I have, rather, hoped to broaden the base of *ukiyoe* studies to some extent. It is important to study *ukiyoe* prints not only as art for art's sake but also as documents for the history of Japanese culture. This should not be misunderstood as a disparagement of their beauty, their technical accomplishment or their success as aesthetically pleasing designs. These qualities also enter into their nature as cultural documents. My quarrel is with those who have studied the prints as art and have failed to make the comparisons of detail which are standard procedure in other branches of art history. In so many cases it turns out that a print design by one artist can be related *directly* to one by another artist or to other works of the same artist. The study of iconography too – how, for example, Yanone Gorō or Yaoya Oshichi or Sugawara no Michizane are depicted by various artists – is only just beginning. It is not enough to study each print as an isolated sheet of paper – even though one must admit that the necessary material may sometimes be scattered throughout the world and that little of it has been published at all.

In one of his letters to Gookin, dated 24 November 1915, Sir Edmund Walker describes how he had shown his print collection to Clarence Webster.[18] "I do not think Dr. Webster was very much impressed by my prints because I was foolish enough to show him all I have of certain periods instead of only showing him a moderate number of the very best." With this cautionary tale in mind, I have chosen prints for the present catalogue to present the Walker collection at its best, at least down to *c.* 1805. I have also tried to give as much room as I could to designs which have not previously been published. The task of selection has, however, been difficult, and I am conscious that my choice is ultimately a personal one. Some artists, for example Chōki, are represented by only one or two prints, while Shunkō, Shunchō, Toyohiro and Eishō are not in at all, though they are represented in the collection.

A large portion of the present catalogue was written in 1970, and had then to be laid aside in favour of other work. The remainder was written in the summer of 1973, but it was not possible to incorporate references to studies published since 1970. I should, however, mention an important conference and exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago in November 1971, of which the catalogue, *Ukiyo-e Prints and Paintings: the Primitive Period, 1680-1745,* is by Mr. Donald Jenkins; and the sumptuous volumes devoted to *ukiyoe* prints in the *Zaigai hihō* series published by the Gakken Co., which illustrate prints from several non-Japanese collections. The *Harunobu* volume of this series contains a valuable checklist by Mr. Roger Keyes of Harunobu's entire output of single-sheet prints.

In preparing the catalogue, I have to acknowledge the assistance and encouragement of many people. Dr. Peter Swann, then Director of the Royal Ontario Museum, and Dr. Hsio-yen Shih, Curator of the Far Eastern Department, originally suggested the project, and refused to let it die. I am indebted to Dr. Shih and to the staff of the Far Eastern Department for making the collection freely available to me whenever I needed to consult it, as well as for countless other favours. Miss Betty Kingston, Librarian of the Department, and Mr. Shuzo Uyenaka, of the East Asian library, University of Toronto, have searched for many books for me, and granted me extraordinary borrowing privileges. In Boston, Dr. Jan Fontein, Curator, and Mr. Money Hickman, Fellow for Research in Japanese Art, have always made me welcome in the Asiatic Department of the Museum of Fine Arts: but in gathering material for this catalogue I owe a special debt to Miss Emily Biederman, formerly Assistant in charge of the Print Room. She not only spent many hours during the day to help me find prints and books, but also gave up her free time during evenings and weekends. As a result, I have been able to incorporate many valuable references to the great Boston collection.

At the British Museum, I have enjoyed the unfailing co-operation of Mr. Lawrence Smith, Assistant Keeper, as well as of other former colleagues in the Department of Oriental Antiquities; at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Mr. Kneeland McNulty, Curator of the Department of Prints and Drawings, has allowed me free access both to prints and to his personal library; at the Fogg Art Museum, I have received help from Dr. John Rosenfield and Miss Louise Cort; at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the staff of the Print Room. In the University of Toronto library, Mrs. Grover and other staff of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections brought out the Walker papers. In writing about Sir Edmund Walker I have also had the benefit of meeting his granddaughter, Mrs. Cynthia Heidenreich, who kindly lent me her copy of Prof. Glazebrook's biography and other material. Dr. H.A. Hunter, Sir Edmund's grandson, furnished the photograph which forms the frontispiece to this book. The working photographs which I have used of the Walker collection were mostly taken by Mr. G. Leach, formerly a student in the Department of East Asian Studies. Photographs for the catalogue itself were taken by Mr. William B. Robertson of the ROM. In describing the prints I have benefited in several cases from discussion with Mr. and Mrs. Roger Keyes (Nicasio, California), Mr. Suzuki Jūzō (National Diet Library, Tōkyō) and Dr. Catherine Stevens (Department of East Asian Studies, University of Toronto). I am also indebted to Mr. George Mann (Chicago), Mr. Robert F. Jacobs (Natick, Mass.) and Mr. Bertram J. Malenka (Belmont, Mass.) for allowing me to refer to their collections. Finally, and in particular, my wife Naoko has borne with me during the later stages of writing this book, and almost lost her summer holiday because of it.

Notes

1 C.T. Currelly (1927), p. 2.

2 In compiling what follows, I have drawn on G.P. de T. Glazebrook's useful short biography (1933), as well as a shorter account by C.W. Colby (1949), and entries in Morgan (1912), Roberts & Tunnell (1934) and Wallace (1963). None of these mentions Walker's Japanese prints more than in passing, and the only publication devoted to them seems to be a small special number of the *Bulletin of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology* (see Currelly, 1927, Haines, 1927), issued shortly after the collection entered the Museum. Currelly's memoirs (1956) also contain some interesting reminiscences. Sir Edmund Walker's papers, now in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Toronto Library, contain a mass of material about all aspects of his life. In searching through them I have deliberately confined myself to correspondence about Japanese prints and Far Eastern art generally.

3 Quoted by Glazebrook, pp. 39-40.

4 Glazebrook, p. 2.

5 Glazebrook, p. 50.

6 According to Sir Robert Falconer, a former president of the University of Toronto, Walker "believed in strengthening the staff by improving the salaries of professors, and by introducing from abroad an infusion of teachers trained in different schools. Though there was no more genuine Canadian than he, nor one more confident as to the quality of the Canadian mind, he was impatient of self-regarding 'nativism' " (Preface to Glazebrook, *op. cit.*, p. xi.). In 1914, when there was agitation to dismiss from the university professors of German origin, Walker argued vigorously against such action.

In 1895 there was criticism in the undergraduate newspaper *Varsity* of some appointments to the staff, and allegations were made against the university authorities, including the Chancellor. Mass meetings of undergraduates followed, some professors publicly criticised the university, and there was a strike by the undergraduates, who refused to attend lectures for a few days. Walker wrote to the Chancellor, who was then living in England, that the charges against him "are all due to three or four demagogues. . . . These young student demagogues are perhaps the natural product of the teaching of Political Science to half-educated students, who have not enough capacity or industry to study for a profession. Many of these avowedly intend to go into journalism or politics! Their trade is agitation and intrigue . . ." (Glazebrook, pp. 43-44).

7 "The main point . . . was that we should often purchase for the National Gallery pictures which might not be attractive to us as individuals, but which would be fair expositions of the condition of art in Canada, as shown by the leading artists. . . . I am distinctly interested in the history of the development of art in Canada . . ." (letter to Hon. Sydney Fisher, acting Minister of Works: quoted by Glazebrook, pp. 91-92).

8 Currelly (1956), p. 224.

9 Quoted by Glazebrook, p. 140. According to Currelly, "Sir Edmund Walker was not a man of great wealth, as rich men speak of it, and I have good reason to believe that he gave away half his income regularly. That prevented him from accumulating capital, because he had unrivalled opportunities for investment, but we have few men who were as eager for the advancement of Ontario as he was" (1956, p. 209).

10 See Glazebrook, p. 49.

11 "As a young man in New York, these [i.e. Japanese colour-prints] had appealed to him very considerably and through the years he steadily added to his collection" (1927, p. 2). Cf. Walker's letter to Gookin of 10 February 1914, quoted on p. 14.

12 Currelly (1956), p. 183.

13 Their collection is now in the British Museum.

14 This was probably the first such attempt to do so. I do not know what became of Gookin's notes, unless they were incorporated into his card catalogue of the Spaulding collection, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

15 "Please do not send for my inspection any prints which are not of the highest quality. I have already quite a large collection and only wish to add very fine examples" (letter of 25 July 1916).

16 Walker seems to have bought some prints on this occasion, for on 28 March Gookin acknowledges receipt of $650 from him.

17 Currelly (1927), p. 2.

18 Dr. Webster, a Canadian surgeon who practised in Chicago, sold much of his collection, including some splendid Harunobu prints, to the Spaulding brothers, and it is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The Royal Ontario Museum got the residue, consisting for the most part of nineteenth-century prints.

Catalogue

Note

The following conventions have been used in describing the prints in this catalogue:

1 A short set of size classes is used: thus, *hosoe, chūban, ōban, yokoe, hashira-e* (see Glossary for definitions). These terms are occasionally qualified as large, small, etc., and occasionally combined (e.g. *ōban yokoe*). For non-standard sizes no class-name is used. Measurements are in centimetres, height first, and have been taken up the left-hand side and across the top of the print.

2 For Japanese technical terms used in the description of prints, see the Glossary. *Overprinting* means that one colour is laid over another to obtain a third colour. This technique was very common, and makes it difficult to estimate the number of colour blocks used. In estimating the number of colour blocks (on prints down to *c.* 1775 only), no allowance has been made for the possibility that more than one colour may have been used on different areas of a single block. In the notes on condition, *air-burning* describes the overall brownish discolouration of paper through exposure to air over a long period of time.

3 Japanese words appearing on the prints are transliterated in italics. Other italicised Japanese words used in the description of prints are titles or technical terms explained in the text or in the Glossary.

4 The year 1765 marks a watershed in the history of the Japanese print, when full colour printing started to become standard and styles of drawing also changed somewhat. For this reason the catalogue is divided into two sections: Part I comprises artists who were mainly active before 1765, Part II artists who were mainly active in and after that year. Short biographical notes on the artists will be found under the first entry for each man. No attempt has been made in this catalogue to add to or review critically the few facts known about the lives of *ukiyoe* artists. In many cases these facts are based on statements in middle or late nineteenth-century sources, and may be little more than hearsay. Within each Part of the catalogue, the artists are arranged alphabetically, and their work is placed in a rough chronological sequence.

5 Sections of a print are referred to when necessary by means of a simple spatial grid:

TL	TC	TR	T = Top
ML	MC	MR	M = Middle
BL	BC	BR	B = Bottom
L = Left	C = Centre	R = Right	

6 The Museum registration number of each print is given at the end of each entry.

7 Other abbreviations used, including those of the names of institutions, are explained in the Bibliography, Section A (p. 223).

8 Photographs in this book are not the actual size of the prints. Most are reduced, but in a few cases the plate is slightly larger than the original woodcut.

Part One

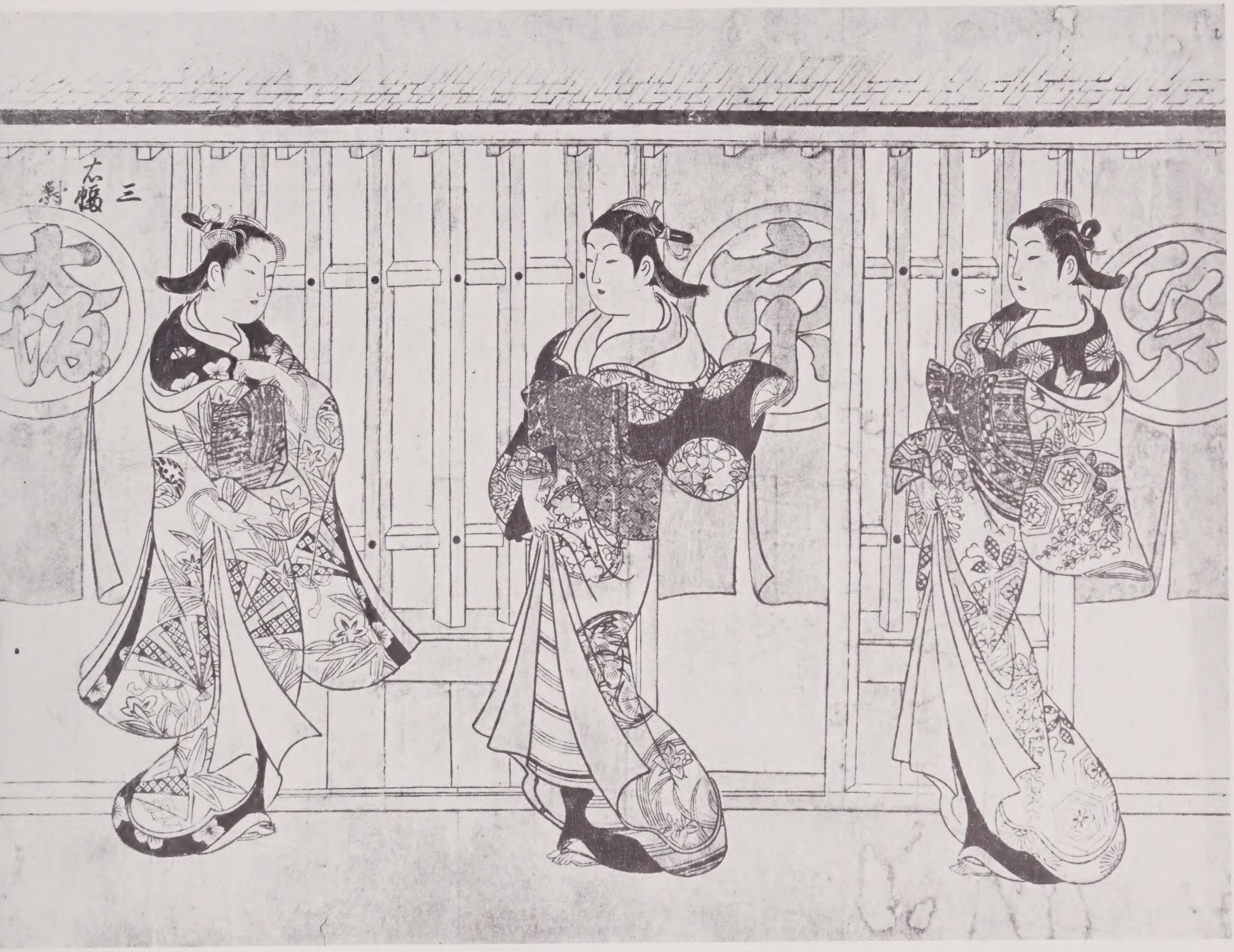
Artists chiefly active before 1765

Anonymous

1 **Anon.** Courtesans of the "Three Cities." From R to L, they are *Edo, Kyō* (i.e. Kyōto) and *Ōsaka.* The curtain behind the Ōsaka girl also says *sambukutsui: migi,* "triptych: right-hand."

yokoe, 36.5 x 48.8; hand-coloured.
Unsigned.
Date: early 1730s.

This specimen: Paine (1963b), Fig. 14. Paine writes: "Although the *urushie* period is one in which exact dates are exceptionally rare, it would seem likely that Masanobu created the subject of the courtesans of the three cities during the 1720's and that his style-setting triptych can be dated to between 1725 and 1730." Paine concludes that Masanobu's triptych was first copied in an unsigned version by the publisher Izutsuya, and that the ROM print is "the second faking or copying of his composition. It is almost as faithful a copy as the first, the main difference being that the names of the courtesans are omitted." Still later versions were made by Kiyomasu II, Tsunekawa Shigenobu, Tamura Sadanobu, Nishimura Shigenaga, Hirose Shigenobu (see No. 45 in this catalogue), Nishimura Shigenobu and others.
926.18.1101



1

2 Anon. A puppet character from the play *Hanagoromo iroha engi,* starring the chanter *Takemoto Chikugonojō* (Takemoto Gidayū II).

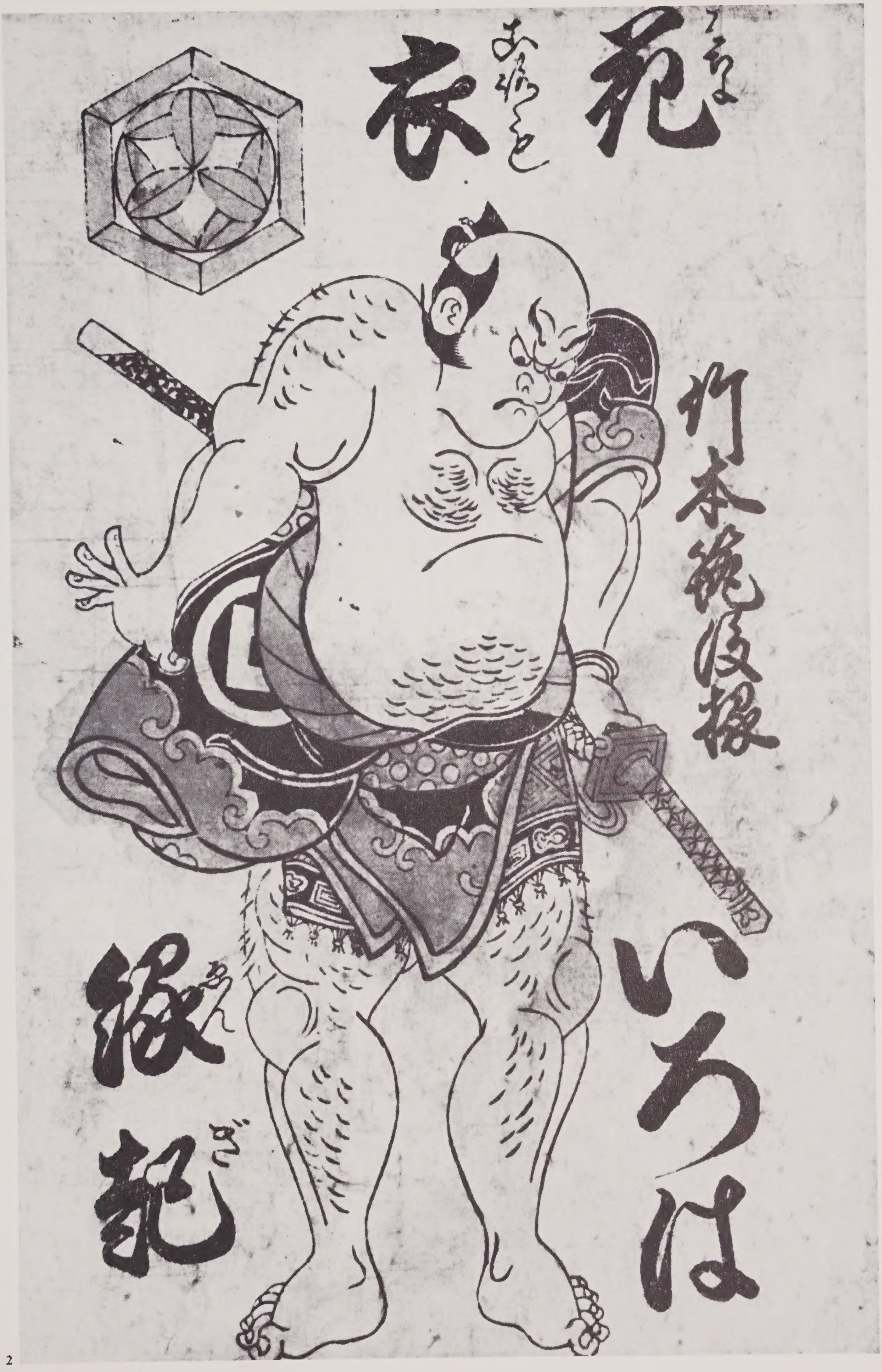
hosoe, 27.5 x 17.1; hand-coloured (yellow only); stained, trimmed.
Unsigned.
Date: 1742.

Takemoto Gidayū I (1651-1714) was the founder of *Gidayū-bushi,* a vigorous style of chanting to *shamisen* accompaniment. It is still used in the puppet theatre, and has fathered a whole family of styles of narrative chant. Takemoto opened his theatre, the Takemoto-za, in Ōsaka in 1684, when he also took the name Takemoto Gidayū. His collaboration with the great dramatist of the puppet theatre, Chikamatsu Monzaemon, started soon after, with the play *Shusse Kagekiyo.* In 1701 Takemoto received the feudal title Chikugo no Jō Fujiwara Hironori, and until his death on the tenth day, ninth month, 1714, he was known as Takemoto Chikugo no Jō, "Takemoto, Lord of Chikugo Province" (EHD, s.v.; KN 1, p. 438; OS 2, pp. 9 ff.).

The Toronto print, however, is a book wrapper, or possibly an advertisement, from a play in which Takemoto Gidayū II (1691-1744) was apparently the producer or principal chanter. *Hanagoromo iroha engi,* in five acts, was one of a number of plays written by Miyoshi Shōraku (1696?-?) in collaboration with Takeda Koizumo (d. by 1753), and was first performed in the third month, Kanpō 2 (1742), at the Takemoto-za, Ōsaka (NOZ 9, p. 194; DJ). There are copies of the original one-volume text in several Japanese libraries, including the Theatre Museum, Waseda University (KSM; Engeki Hakubutsukan, 1969, p. 120). I have not had opportunity of examining any, and do not know if the book was illustrated. (KSM also lists an *ehon banzuke* in the Nanki Library which may be relevant.)

The print can thus be dated precisely. Following the death of Takemoto Gidayū, there was something of a succession dispute at the Takemoto-za, but eventually Takemoto Masadayū succeeded to the title Gidayū II in 1734, and became leader of the "Western" branch of the puppet theatre, based on the Takemoto-za. In 1737 he received title to some property, and took the name Takemoto Harima no Shōjō (by which he is often referred to today); and in 1744 he died; but it does not seem that any third party succeeded to the titles Chikugonojō or Gidayū, and he is undoubtedly the person referred to on the Walker print of 1742. The large *mon* (TL) is that of Chikugonojō himself: an identical one can be seen on the reading desk depicted in a portrait of Gidayū I reproduced by Kitani Hōgin (1941: Frontispiece) from his own collection.

It does not appear that any modern study has been made of *Hanagoromo iroha engi.* One act from it was revived in 1774 (KN 4, p. 253); and this and another act were adapted for the Kabuki stage in Edo in 1790 (KN 5, p. 95). There was another revival in 1815 (KN 5, p. 565), and the plot has also formed the basis of a shinnai-bushi version and of a Meiji period Gidayū piece, *Ryōbensugi.*
926.18.29


花衣
はなごろも
竹本筑後掾
いろは
縁起
えんぎ

2

3 **Kiyohiro.** Two boys with whipping tops of the type known as *Hakata-goma,* while a girl in an iris-pattern *kimono* watches them. She is holding a lacquer *fumibako* (box for writing-paper), whose lid is secured with a tasselled cord; and a roll of letter-paper is thrust into her *kimono.* The background is formed by a grassy bank and a cherry tree in blossom, and the poem reads:

fumibako no	Time to loosen the cords
himo mo yurumu ya	of the writing-box! – when they
koma no haru	wind up the whipping-tops for Spring!

hosoe, 30.3 x 14.1; 2 colour blocks (pink, green); slightly frayed (TL), trimmed (R).

Signature: *Torii Kiyohiro hitsu.*

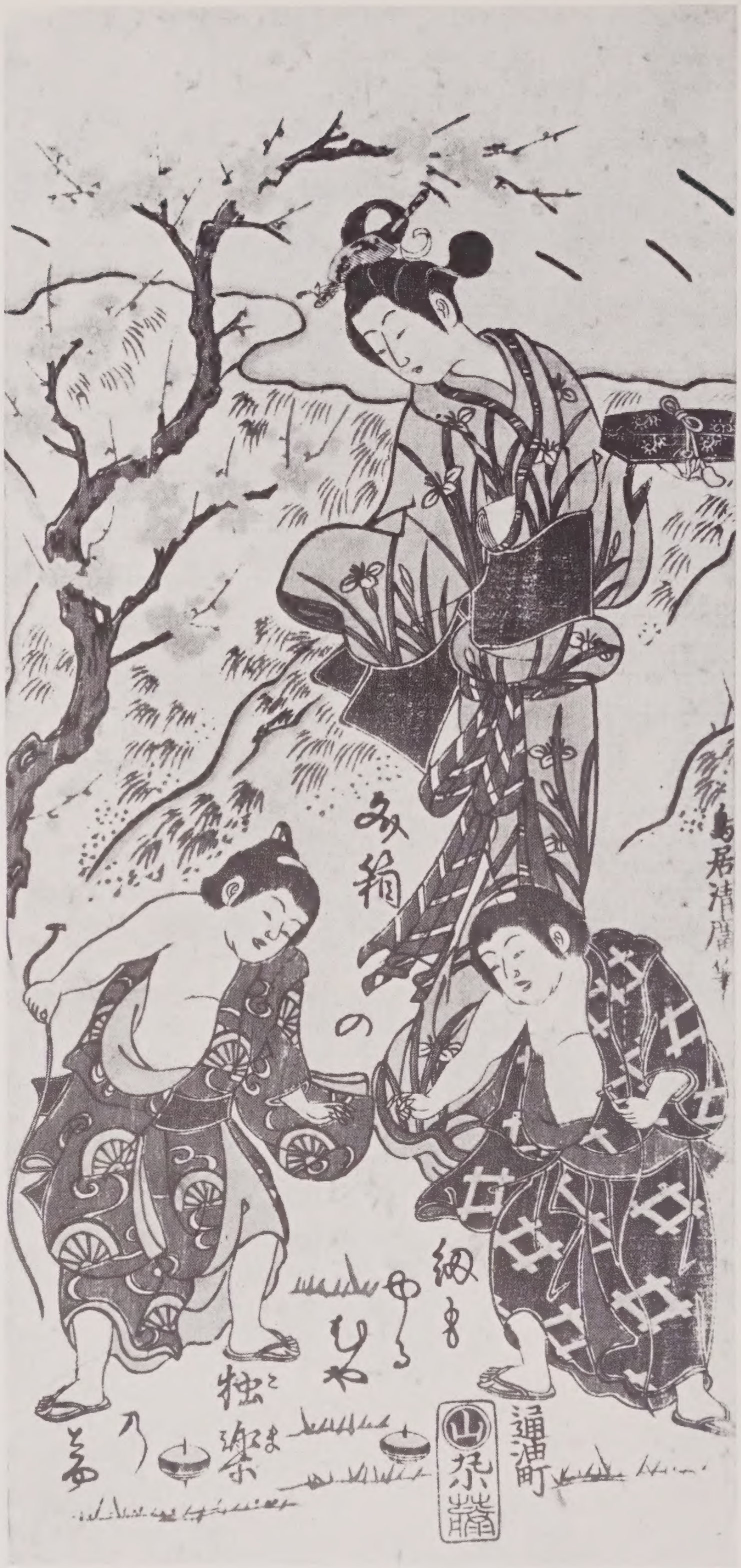
Publisher: *Tori Abura-chō* (address), and trademark *Yama, Maru-Ko* of Yamamoto (Maruya Kohei); within the same frame, seal *Fuji.*

Date: 1750s.

This print is of particular interest because of the existence of a fine *ōban* print by Kiyohiro, also from the same publisher, in which we see almost the same two boys spinning the same two tops (Waterhouse, 1964, Pl, 63). On that print, however, the poem is different, there is no background, and the watching figure is a young man with a bundle of love-letters dangling from the hilt of his sword. Cf. also No. 7 in this catalogue.

The poem on the Walker print contains a traditional pun on *haru,* "spring", and *haru,* "to stretch"; and also makes reference to the *harugoma,* or "Spring Pony Dance" (see No. 52). The suggestion seems to be that spring is the season to write love-letters.

Almost nothing is known of the life of Torii Kiyohiro (d. 1776?), one of the most original artists of the generation that followed Okumura Masanobu. As well as numerous prints of actors and of other conventional subjects, he did delightful prints of children. 926.18.94



3

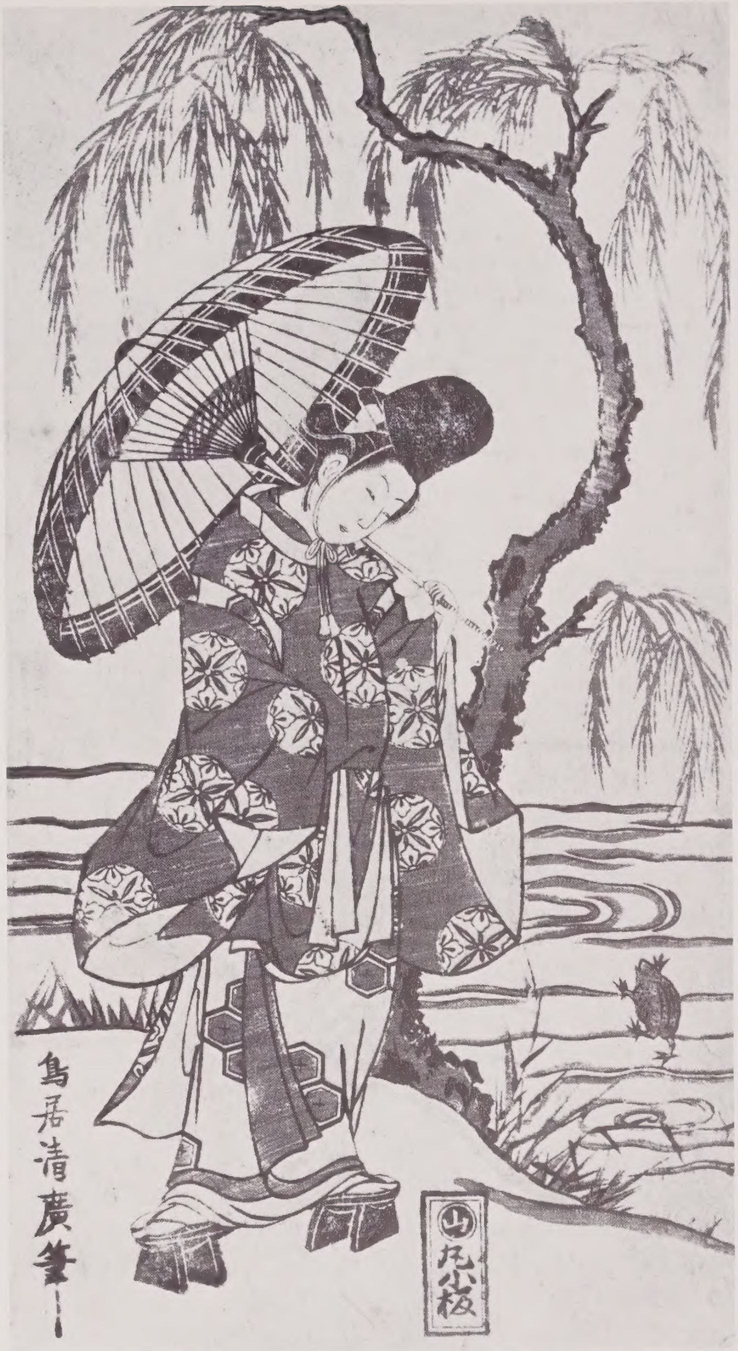
4 **Kiyohiro.** A girl as Ono no Tōfū looking at the frog.

hosoe, 26.8 x 14.1; 2 colour blocks (pink, green); rubbed.
Signature: *Torii Kiyohiro hitsu.*
Publisher: trademark *Yama,* + *Maru-Ko han.*
Date: 1750s.

The story of the great calligrapher Ono no Tōfū (d. 966) and the frog was well known during the middle eighteenth century and inspired at least three prints by Harunobu (cf. Waterhouse, 1964, p. 145). A puppet play, *Ono no Tōfū aoyagi suzuri,* by Takeda Izumo and others, received its first performance at the Takemoto-za in 1754, and there was an Edo Kabuki adaptation of it in 1764.

The story may be told in the words of the Confucian writer Miura Baien (1723-89?):

> Ono no Tōfū is famous in our country as an accomplished calligrapher. When he was young, he was vexed that he did not progress, although he practised his hand. Later, when he was wandering round his garden, he noticed a toad that was trying to leap up to a willow branch hanging down by the water's edge. It could not manage it, but gradually it leaped higher and higher, and in the end reached the branch. Tōfū realised from this what persistent effort could do for his art; he never ceased to practise, and his name is now famous. (*Baien sōsho,* 1: quoted by Andō, 1964, p. 67) 926.18.20



4

5 **Kiyohiro.** *Suketakaya Takasuke* I as *Ōtomo no Kuronushi,* and *Arashi Wakano* II as Kurando nyōbō Azechi. Takasuke stands in formal attire, with a long sword, looking down at a poem slip held by Wakano.

hosoe, 29.3 x 14.2; 2 colour blocks (pink, green); air burning; collector's seal *I-Kin.*

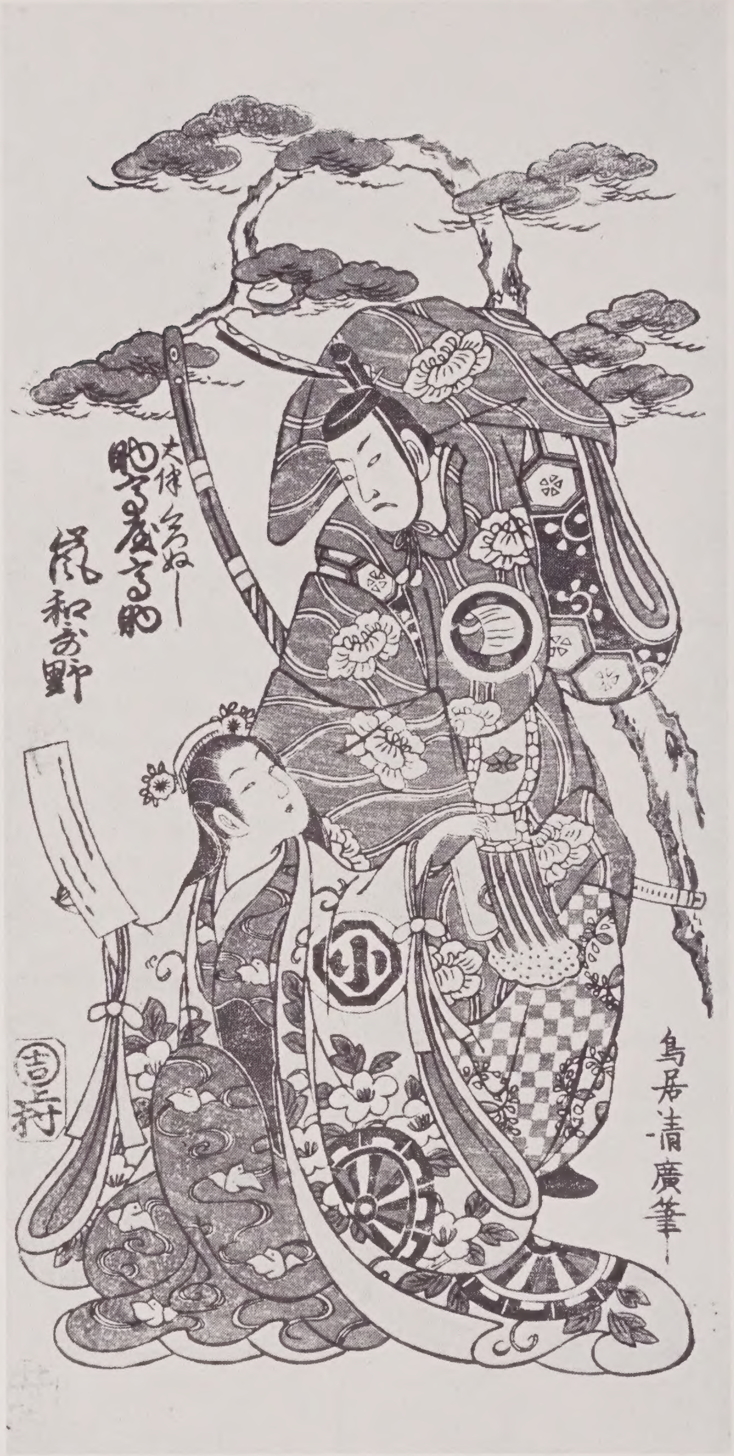
Signature: *Torii Kiyohiro hitsu.*

Publisher: *Uemura,* seal *Kichi[emon].*

Date: 1755.

The play depicted here is *Ōtomo no Kuronushi sokutai kagami,* performed from the first day, eleventh month, 1755, at the Morita-za. The plot seems to have been based on the story of *Sōshi arai Komachi* (see No. 11): Kuronushi writes a false poem into a manuscript of the *Man-yōshū,* is found out by Azechi's husband Ki no Kurando, and in retaliation puts him to to death. Komachi herself was also worked into the plot, though in a subsidiary rôle.

Suketakaya Takasuke I was the last name used by Sawamura Sōjūrō I (1685-1756), also called Sawamura Chōjūrō III. In 1753, the eleventh month, he became Takasuke I, and during the remaining years of his life appeared at the Morita-za, where his acting was compared to that of Ichikawa Danjūrō II. In late 1754 he was joined by Arashi Wakano II, who had previously been performing at the Ichimura-za, and who was a lesser-known *onnagata* recorded as having died suddenly in 1764 at the age of thirty-seven (KN 3, p. 518): and the two performed together on a number of occasions during the next two years. 926.18.17



5

6 **Kiyohiro.** Parody of *Amagoi Komachi* ("Komachi Praying for Rain"). The poem (T) reads:

funa-asobi	Playing with boats! –
ika ni koharu no	just look at her clogs
hiyori kana	in such spring-like weather.

hashira-e, 72.6 x 9.6; 3 colour blocks (pink, green, faded blue); some air-burning; horizontal fold-marks.

Signature: *Torii Kiyohiro ga,* seal *Kiyohiro.*

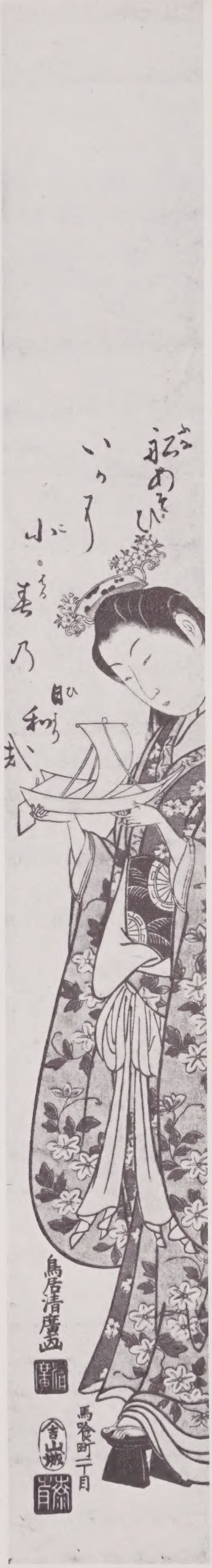
Publisher: *Bakuro-chō Itchōme,* seals *Kichi, Yamashiro & Fuji.*

Date: later 1750s.

Amagoi Komachi is one of the *Nana Komachi* (for which see Nos. 11-14 in this catalogue). Komachi on this occasion was ordered by the Emperor to compose a poem as a prayer for rain. She accordingly wrote one (not the poem on this print), and threw it into a pond. Immediately a terrific rain-storm burst from the heavens and continued for three days.

The subject is often depicted facetiously in *ukiyoe,* with a paper boat taking the place of the poem slip. The Metropolitan Museum possesses another *Amagoi Komachi* design by Kiyohiro (MMA: 842); for a Harunobu example, cf. Waterhouse (1964), Pl. 21. The Walker Kiyohiro, however, is of particular interest because there is a Kiyomitsu pillar-print which is clearly related to it, and probably derived from it: see UT 4, Pl. 408; Shōbisha (1928), Pl. 52; or Bremen Art Museum (1922), No. 49 and Pl. The Kiyomitsu print bears the usual Amagoi Komachi poem, signed *Jōa* (see No. 15 in this catalogue), was published by Maruya (though it also has the seal *Fuji* which appears on the Kiyohiro print), and can be dated *c.* 1760. Kiyohiro's design, then, may be a year or two earlier.

The poem on this print seems to contain a double entendre: *koharu no hiyori* means "warm, spring-like weather late in the year"; but *hiyori* can also be short for *hiyori-geta,* a kind of low clog appropriate to fine weather. Since Komachi is shown here wearing rather high clogs, the poem appears to be commenting on their unsuitability: but since she is really praying for rain, they will very soon turn out to be suitable! 926.18.87

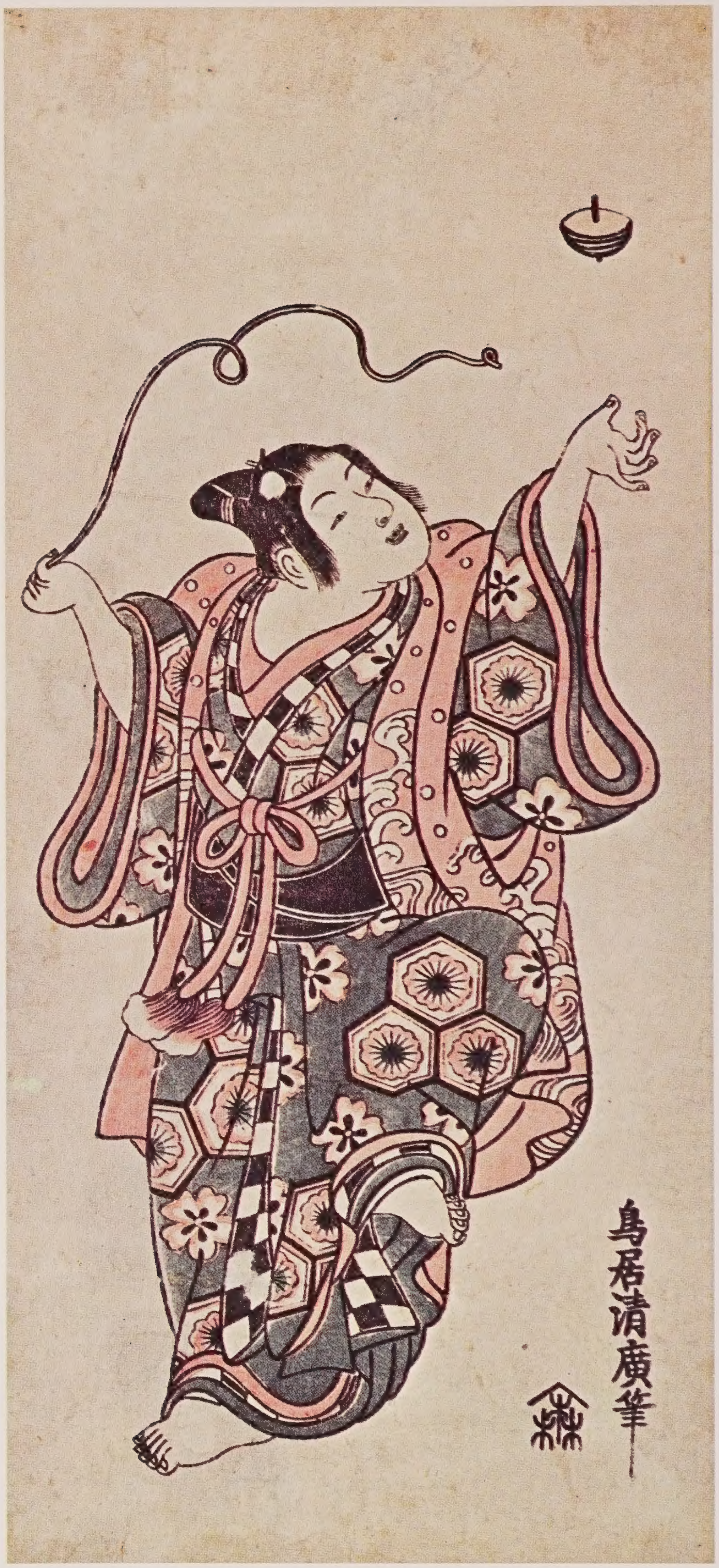

鳥居清廣画
馬喰町二丁目

6

7 **Kiyohiro.** A boy tossing his whipping top into the air, as he does a spirited dance in honour of spring.

hosoe, 30.2 x 13.7; 2 colour blocks (pink, green).
Signature: *Torii Kiyohiro hitsu.*
Publisher: seal *Mori* of Tsurushin.
Date: *c.* 1760.

The design of the boy's *kimono* on this print is the same as that of the right-hand boy in the *ōban* print by Kiyohiro referred to under No. 3 in this catalogue. All three prints are clearly expressions of welcome to spring.
926.18.16



7

8 **Kiyohiro.** The actor Yoshizawa Sakinosuke in character, holding a parasol. The poem, by *Jōa,* reads:

hiru tataku	At noon the strident voice
kuhina mo arite	of the corncrake too is heard –
ada makura	a temporary love affair!

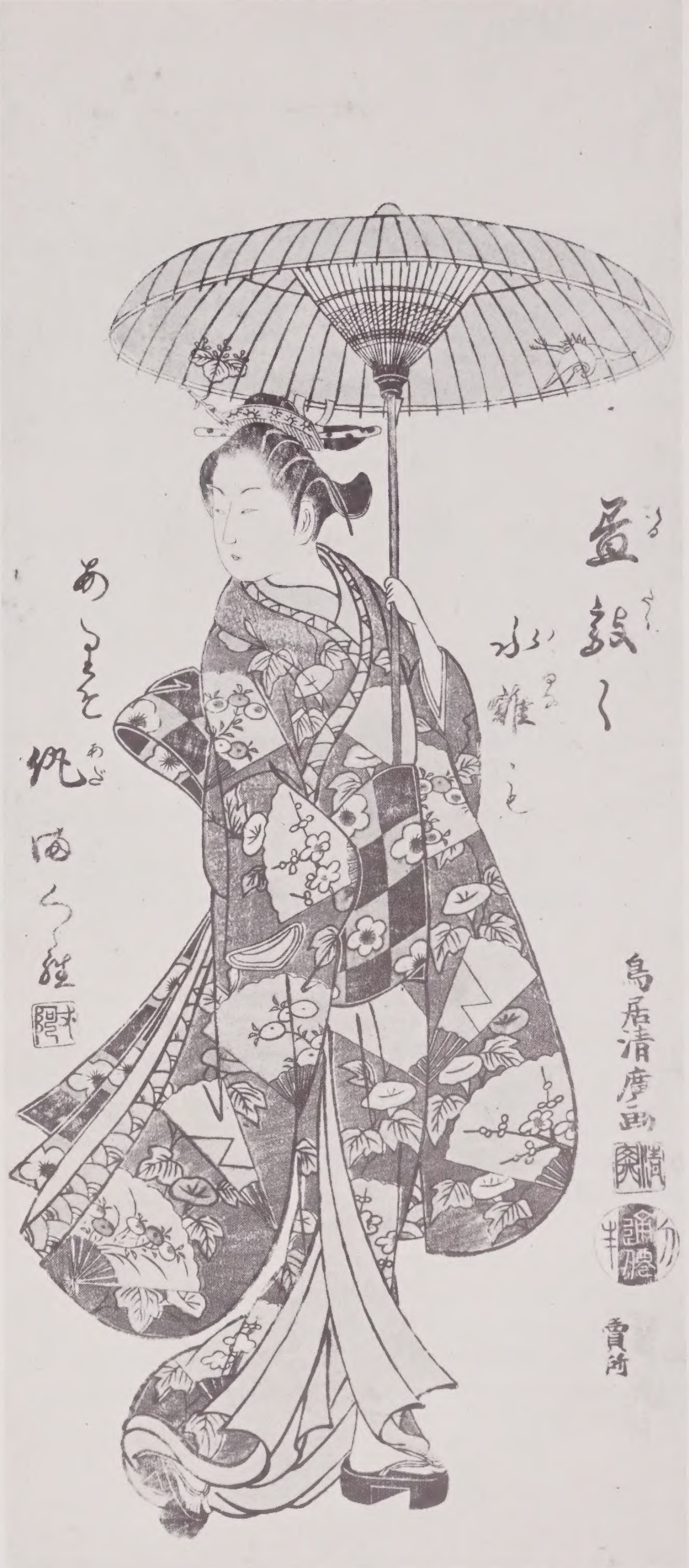
Large *hosoe,* 39.7 x 17.2; 3 colour blocks (pink, green, faded blue).

Signature: *Torii Kiyohiro ga,* seal *Kiyohiro.*
Block-cutter: *Tsūsen* (*kan*).

Publisher: seal *Maru-Ko* of Maruya Kohei, and address [*Tōri*] *Abura-chō* (all in pink). By the side of this, an added stamp, *baisho,* "selling place."

Date: 1767(?).

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, possess a *hosoe* three-colour print by Kiyomitsu (21.8130: Spaulding coll.), published by Nishinomiya, showing Arashi Hinaji as the *maiko Kohagi.* He is standing in the same pose, with a parasol, and the two prints are clearly related in design. However, Kiyohiro's print shows on the parasol the *mon* of the actors Matsumoto Kōshirō and Yoshizawa Sakinosuke III. Matsumoto Kōshirō was one of the stars at the Nakamura-za, but Sakinosuke seems to have performed at the Ichimura-za until late 1766, when he appeared at the Nakamura-za, together with Kōshirō (KN 4, p. 13). During the following year the two men played opposite one another several times, and we also see them listed together during 1768. It is hard to know if Kiyohiro's print refers to a particular performance, but Jōa's poem perhaps alludes to the stage alliance of Kōshirō and Sakinosuke. Kiyomitsu's print of Arashi Hinaji has unfortunately not been dated. 926.18.18



8

Kiyomasu II

9 **Kiyomasu II.** No. 29 (*Dai nijūku-ban*) from a series of fifty-four illustrations to the Tale of Genji (*Genji gojūyon-mai no uchi*). Under the appropriate *Genji-mon* (cf. Nos. 40, 41) and the short title *Genji* is the title of the chapter, *Miyuki,* "The Royal Visit," followed by a poem written across the top of the fan design:

Oshioyama (for translation *v. infra*)
miyuki tsumoreru
matsubara ni
kyō bakari naru
ato ya nakaran

The picture below shows the Emperor's palanquin, carried by four bearers, and preceded by mounted courtiers in hunting attire, as it proceeds to the winter festival at the Oharano Shrine in the hills west of Kyōto. Design surrounding the fan, of an *inrō* and two stylised *ju* ("long life") characters, printed in reserve.

yokoe, 16.0 x 33.5; hand-coloured, with *fukibokashi* technique and metallic dusting; wormage (TM, TR), otherwise good condition.

Signature: *Eshi Torii Kiyomasu hitsu.*

Publisher: *On-haribako fusuma moyō byōbu chirashi: Yamato beni-e kongen rui nashi hanmoto/ e-sōshi toiya Asakusa mitsuke-mae Dōbō-machi, Izumiya Gonshirō,* with jar-shaped trademark of Izumiya, "Fine designs for needle-box or sliding door or for pasting on screens: Izumiya Gonshirō, of Dōbō-machi, at the approach to Asakusa: originator and sole publisher of *Yamato beni-e,* and wholesale dealer in illustrated stories."

Date: *c.* 1735.

For general information on the set, see No. 40. Kiyomasu II executed other sets of fan prints: for example, one called *Yoshiwara hakkei,* (publ. Igaya), which is described by Yoshida (1965-71), Vol. III, p. 430, and which must be roughly contemporaneous with Kiyomasu's contribution to the Genji set.

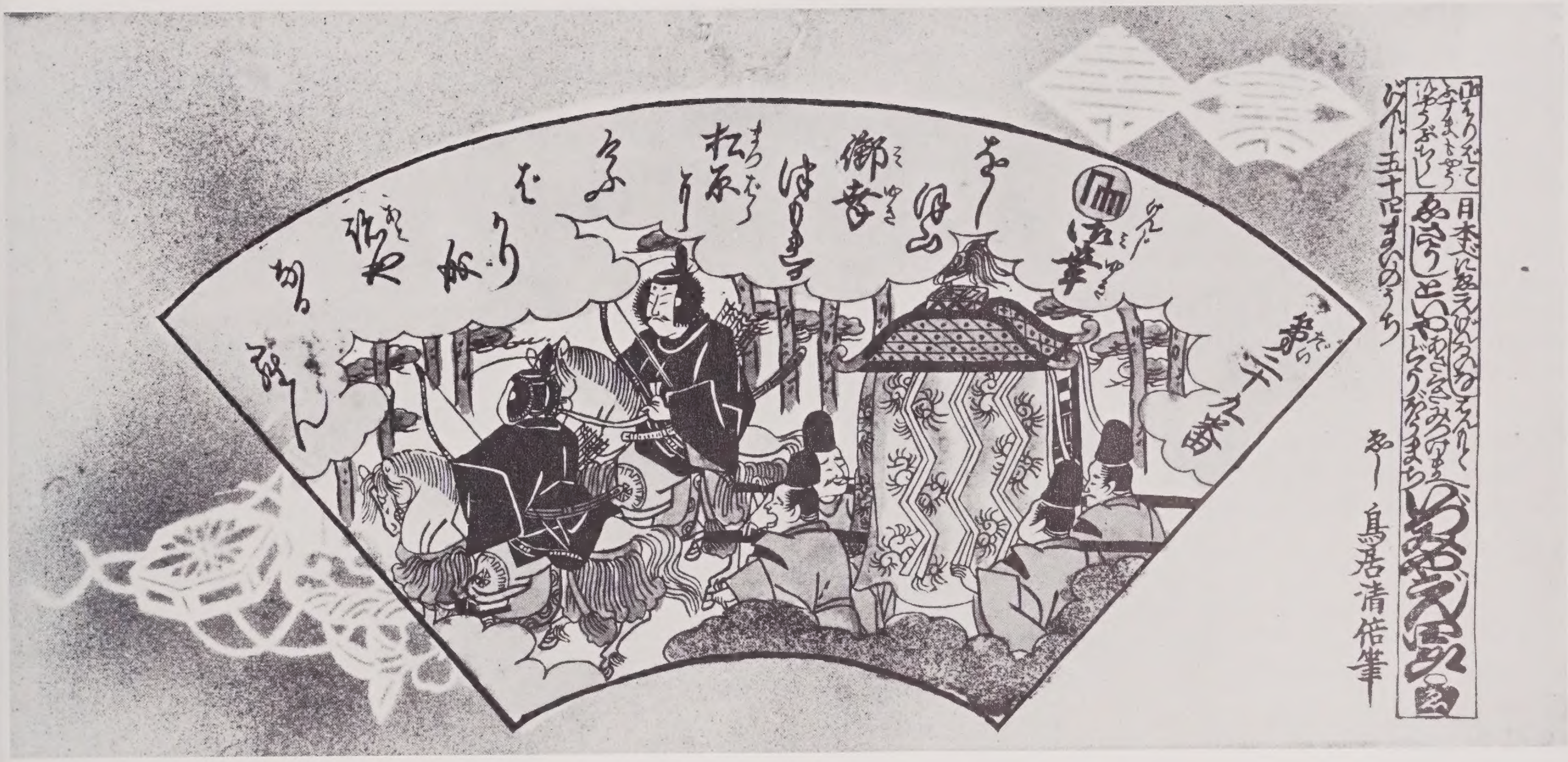
The Emperor goes to take part in the Oharano Festival, and we are given a description of the journey:

> The procession was, strictly speaking, an Imperial Progress; but on this occasion the Palanquin was followed by most of the younger princes and noblemen, on horses sumptuously saddled and equipped. Their retainers, also on horseback, were all men of fine stature and appearance, clad in magnificent costumes, so that the general effect was one of extraordinary splendour . . . There had been a slight fall of snow, but during the time of the procession the weather was perfect. Such of the courtiers as had been taking part in the recent hunting expeditions were still in their strange falconers' costumes. They were attended by the hawk-trainers drawn from the falconries of the Six Bodyguards. These men, in their rather wild-looking, patterned dresses, quite unfamiliar to most residents of the Capital, attracted a great deal of attention. (Waley, 1935, p. 544: cf. Yamagishi, 1958-63, Vol. III, pp. 67-68.)

Genji had been invited by the Emperor to be present, but he excused himself, sending instead a gift of wine and fruit. The Emperor sent by a messenger a return gift, of partridges strung on a branch; but he also sent a poem:

> "The tracks these woodland birds imprinted on the snowy hill would guide you safely on the path that Precedent decrees." By this he meant that the Grand Minister had never before been absent on the occasion of the Royal Visit.
>
> Genji entertained the messenger with suitable respect, and finally sent him back with the poem: "So thick this morning's snow that, where I seek my way, no ancient track remains upon the wind-drifts of the desolate hill." (Waley, p. 545; cf. Yamagishi, Vol. III, pp. 69-70.)

It is Genji's poem of reply to the Emperor which is quoted on this print. As Waley points out, Genji implies this Royal Visit is so impressive that it has obliterated all trace of precedent: and there is a pun on *miyuki,* which may mean both "deep snow" and "Royal Visit."
926.18.4


第三十九番
鳥居清倍筆

9

10 Kiyomasu II. No. 47 (*Dai yonjūshichi-ban*) from a series of fifty-four illustrations to the *Tale of Genji (Genji gojūyon-mai no uchi*). Under the appropriate *Genji-mon* (cf. Nos. 40, 41) and the short title *Genji* is the title of the chapter, *Agemaki,* followed by a poem written across the top of the fan design:

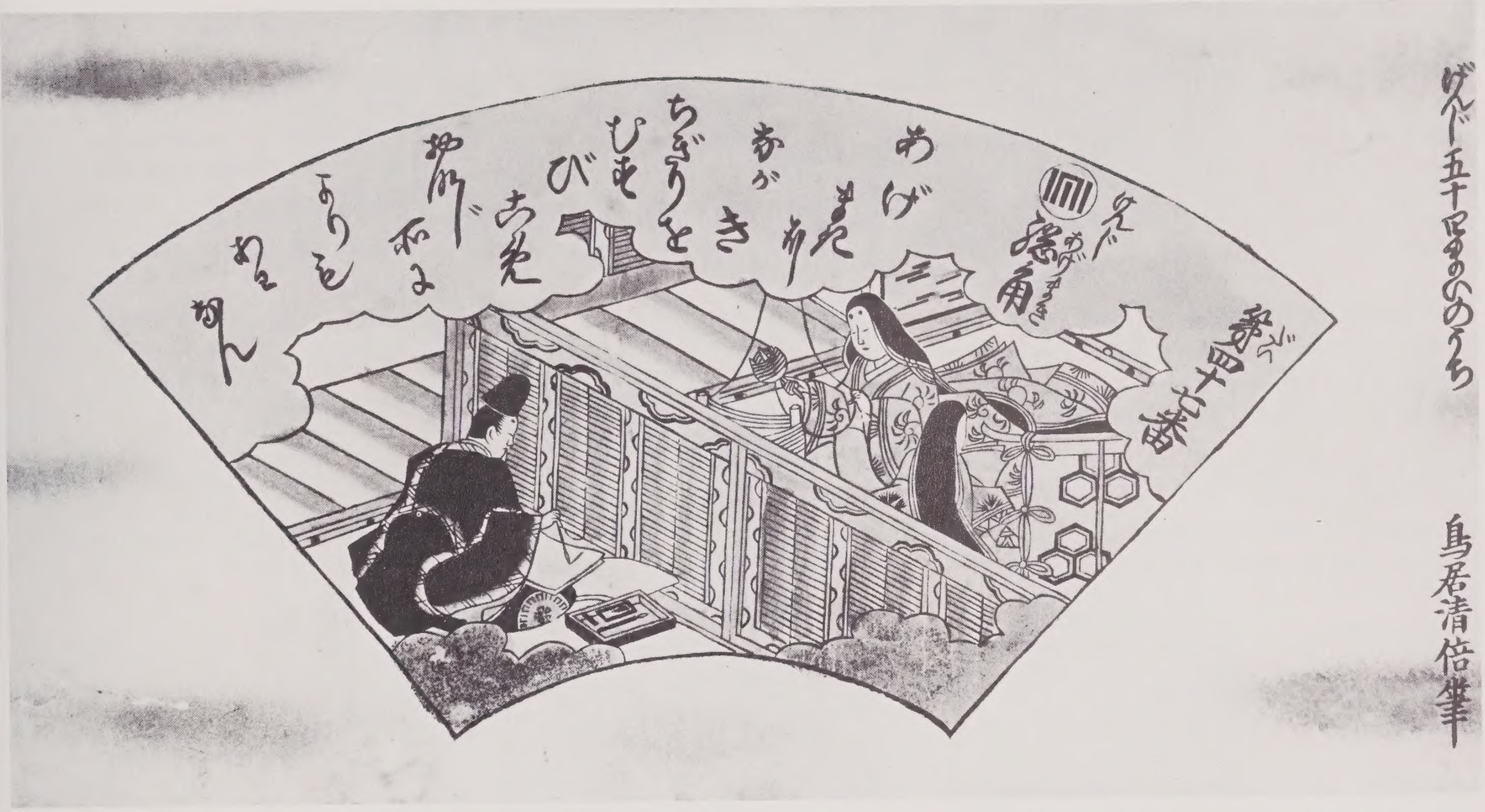
Agemaki ni (for translation *v. infra*)
nagaki chigiri wo
musubikome
onaji tokoro ni
yori mo awanan

The picture below shows Agemaki and her sister Kozeri winding thread behind the screens in their quarters at Uji, while Agemaki's sister Kaoru sits outside, writing a poem.

yokoe, 15.7 x 30.1; hand-coloured, with metallic dusting; wormage (BL), stain (BR), otherwise good condition.
Signature: *Torii Kiyomasu hitsu.*
Date: *c.* 1735.

For general information on the set, see No. 40. The publisher of this print is not named, but was probably Izumiya, as with the others in the set.

Kaoru, who is the son of Kashiwagi and grandson of Tō no Chūjō, has been paying court to Agemaki, whose name is also that of a type of decorative knot or tassel made with cords. On one of his visits Kaoru finds Agemaki and her sister plaiting tassels for the ceremony in honour of the anniversary of their father's death. He peeps in, and there follows a poetic exchange, which depends for its effect on numerous allusions to classical verses. The relevant section is as follows: "Kaoru had been writing the drafts of some Buddhist inscriptions that were needed in connection with an offering of Scriptures and sacred images that he was making in the late Prince's memory. His inkstand still lay by him, and taking up his brush he now wrote: 'Would that like the threads of the tassel, that once lay apart but now for ever are joined, we too might be united in the bond of steadfast love!' and handed the poem through the curtains." (Waley, 1935, pp. 840-41: cf. Yamagishi, 1958-63, Vol. IV, p. 382.)
926.18.3


げんじ五十四まいのうち
鳥居清倍筆
げんじ
第四十七番
げんじ
総角
あげまき
あげまきに
ながき契りを
むすびこめ
おなじ所に
よりもあはなん

10

11 Kiyomasu II. *Sōshi arai Komachi,* "Komachi Washing the Manuscript." No. 1 (*ichi*) from the series *Nana Komachi,* "Seven Komachi." The poem reads:

makanaku ni
nani wo tane to te
ukikusa no
nami no une-une
oishigeruran

(for translation, *v. infra*)

The picture below shows Ono no Komachi, watched by Ki no Tsurayuki, Ōtomo no Kuronushi and two attendants, washing the manuscript of the *Man-yōshū* on which Kuronushi has falsely inscribed Komachi's poem.

hosoe, 33.3 x 15.9; hand-coloured; some *urushi, fukibokashi;* excellent condition.

Signature: *Eshi Torii Kiyomasu hitsu.*

Publisher: *Moto-Hama-chō Igaya hanmoto,* with trademark of Igaya.

Date: *c.* 1740.

Other specimens: Gunsaulus, 1955, p. 93; Okada, 1940, No. 11 and Pl.

The Walker collection contains Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 6 of the set of seven prints. No. 2 is illustrated in Ficke, 1925, No. 12 (*Amagoi Komachi*); and Nos. 3 (*Kiyomizu Komachi*) and 7 (*Sotoba Komachi*) are both in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.13326 and 06.394 respectively). The complete set must be one of the earliest *ukiyoe* depictions of the Seven Aspects of Ono no Komachi, who was also portrayed in various ways during the eighteenth century by Harunobu, Kiyonaga, Utamaro and Eishi.

Ono no Komachi was a ninth-century poetess who became a figure in mediaeval Japanese legend mainly through a cycle of seven Nō plays about her. (For summaries of these plays and for further information see Waterhouse, 1964, Appendix A.) The episode depicted on this print, "Komachi Washing the Manuscript," was illustrated in similar style by Iwasa Matabē (1578-1650), whose influence on *ukiyoe* is a possibility at least in this instance.

The Nō play *Sōshi arai Komachi* opens as follows:

Ōtomo no Kuronushi. I am Ōtomo no Kuronushi. Tomorrow at the Palace there is going to be a Poetry Competition, and they have chosen Ono no Komachi as my opponent. This Komachi is very skilful at poetry, and it will be most difficult for me to match her. It is highly probable that she is even now composing her poem for tomorrow: so I think I will slip secretly into her house and see if I can overhear it. (*He goes to the rear of the stage.*)

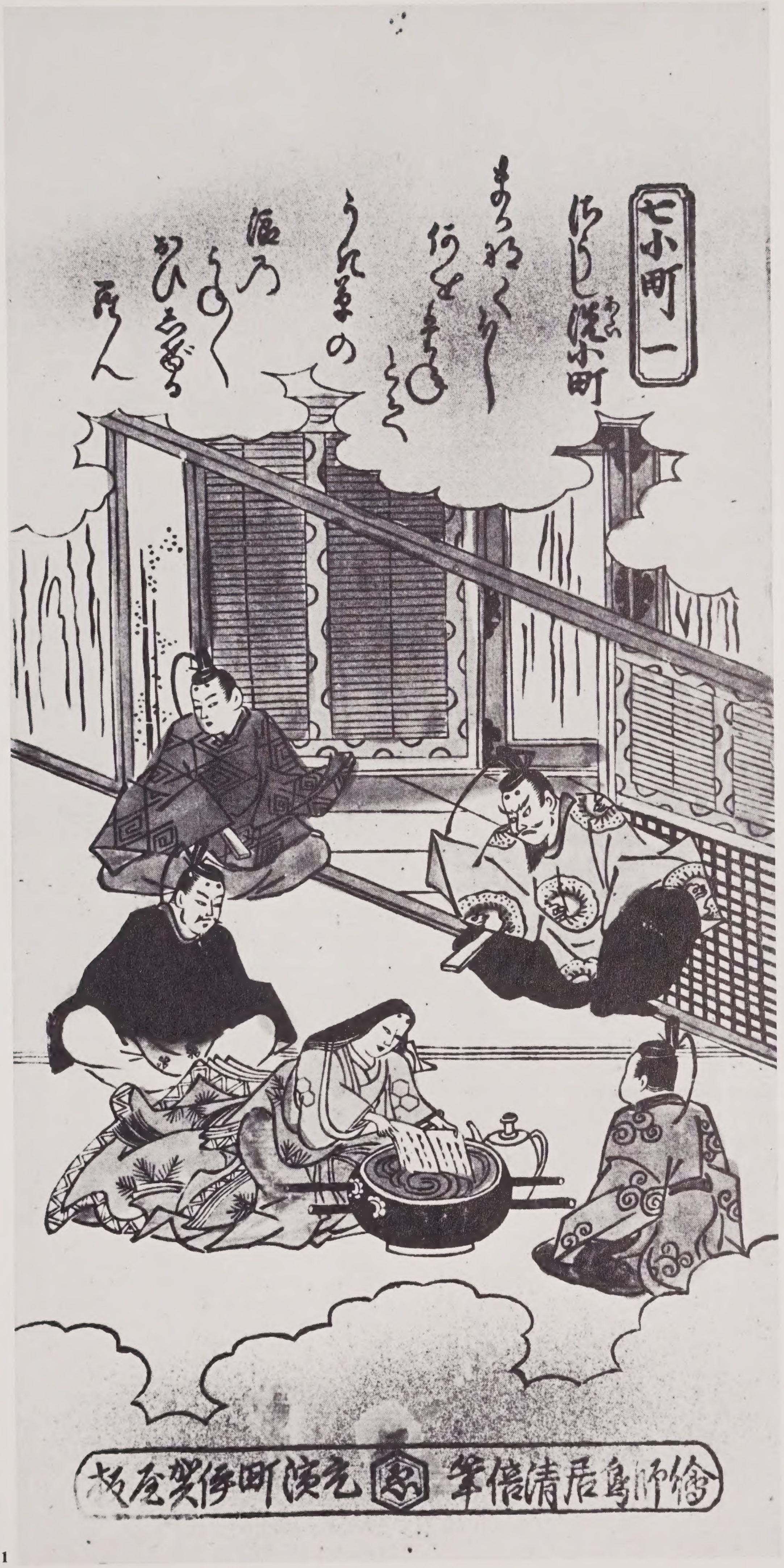
Ono no Komachi. (*On the hashigakari, the bridge to the stage.*) When we inquire into the origins of Japanese poetry, we find that it was the great Shōtoku Taishi, as a Bodhisattva whose mission it is to save the world, who composed a *waka* on Mount Kataoka, and proclaimed it on the highways and byways. And now there is to be a Poetry Competition tomorrow at the Palace, they have chosen Kuronushi as my opponent, and have given, as topic for the poem, "Grass by the Water's Edge." That is very interesting! A poem about grass by the water's edge has just floated through my mind:

Nobody plants them,
so what do they do for seeds? –
these drifting grasses
must grow and wax thick with the
undulation of the waves!

I must copy this poem onto a poem slip straight away! (YT, pp: 1183-84)

Kuronushi writes the poem into a manuscript of the *Man-yōshū,* and at the competition charges Komachi with plagiarism. She becomes suspicious, and obtains permission to wash the manuscript in clear water, when the forgery floats off.

The poem attributed to Komachi is probably not by her, however, since it does not occur in the *Komachi-shū;* and its history seems to be unknown. Implied in the meaning of the poem is a comparison between drifting grass, rising and falling with the waves of the sea, and a waving field of green rice. 926.18.93


七小町 一
洗小町
繪師鳥居清信筆
元濱町伊賀屋板

11

12 **Kiyomasu** II. *Kayoi Komachi,* "Komachi and the Suitor." No. 4 (*shi*) from the series *Nana Komachi,* "Seven Komachi." The poem reads:

omoiki ya	I should have realised! –
shiji no hashigaki	having scored up all those marks
kakitsumete	on your mounting-block,
momo yo mo onaji	the hundredth night is the same:
marone sen to wa	I see I must sleep alone.

The picture below shows Fukakusa Shōshō standing with his umbrella beside the mounting-block and ox-cart of Ono no Komachi. She is seated indoors, looking scornfully over her shoulder towards him.

hosoe, 33.5 x 16.1; hand-coloured, with *fukibokashi* technique; wormage (TR), otherwise good condition.

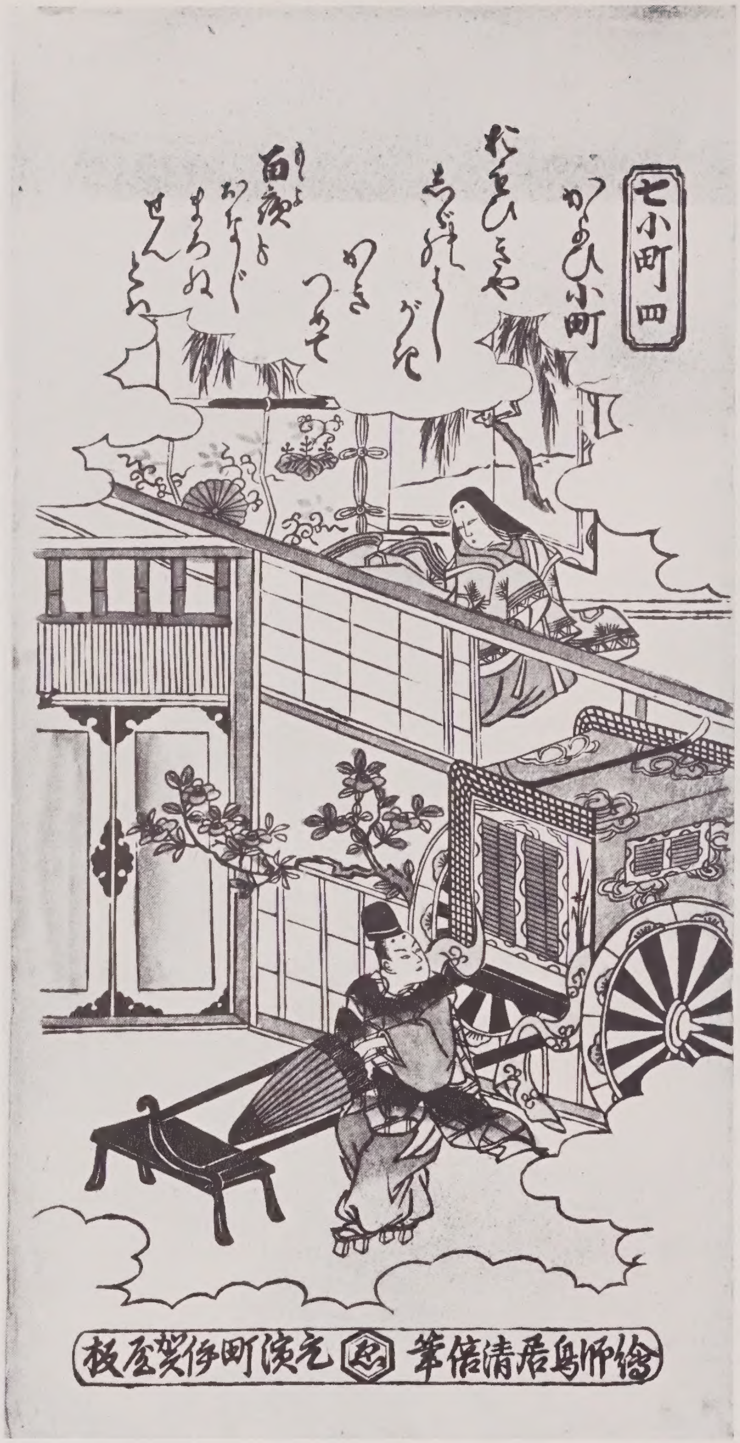
Signature: *Eshi Torii Kiyomasu hitsu.*

Publisher: *Moto-Hama-chō Igaya hanmoto,* with trademark of Igaya.

Date: *c.* 1740.

For general information on the set, see No. 11. Cf. also No. 37. There is another specimen in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.13327).

The poem on this print is not from the Nō play *Kayoi Komachi,* but is by Fujiwara Shunzei, and occurs in the *Senzaishū* XII, 778 (KT, p. 158). It alludes, however, to the legendary courtship of Komachi by Fukakusa Shōshō, which is also the theme of the Nō play; and it also alludes to a poem from the *Kokinshū* XV, 761 (see Waterhouse, 1946, p. 85). Fukakusa is supposed to have paid court to Komachi for ninety-nine nights, but failed to come on the hundredth and was rejected by her. Shunzei's poem presumably commemorates an unsuccessful suit of his own. 926.18.14


七小町 四
かよひ小町
絵師鳥居清倍筆
元濱町伊賀屋板

12

13 **Kiyomasu** II. *Sekidera Komachi,* "Komachi at Sekidera." No. 5 (*go*) from the series *Nana Komachi,* "Seven Komachi." The poem reads:

wabinureba (for translation, *v. infra*)
mi wo ukikusa no
ne wo taete
sasou mizu araba
inan to zo omou

The picture below shows the monk of Sekidera and two children visiting the aged Komachi at her hut near the monastery.

hosoe, 33.5 x 16.0; hand-coloured, with *fukibokashi* technique.
Signature: *Eshi Torii Kiyomasu hitsu.*
Publisher: *Moto-Hama-chō Igaya hanmoto,* with trademark of Igaya.
Date: *c* 1740.

For general information on the set, see No. 11.

In the Nō play *Sekidera Komachi,* a monk of Sekidera, accompanied by children from the monastery who are interested in learning the art of poetry, goes to see Komachi in her retirement, and engages in conversation with her. He quotes a certain poem to her, and the following dialogue ensues:

Komachi. That is a poem which was written a long time ago by Sotōri-hime, the consort of Emperor Ingyō. I too studied her school of poetry in just the same style.

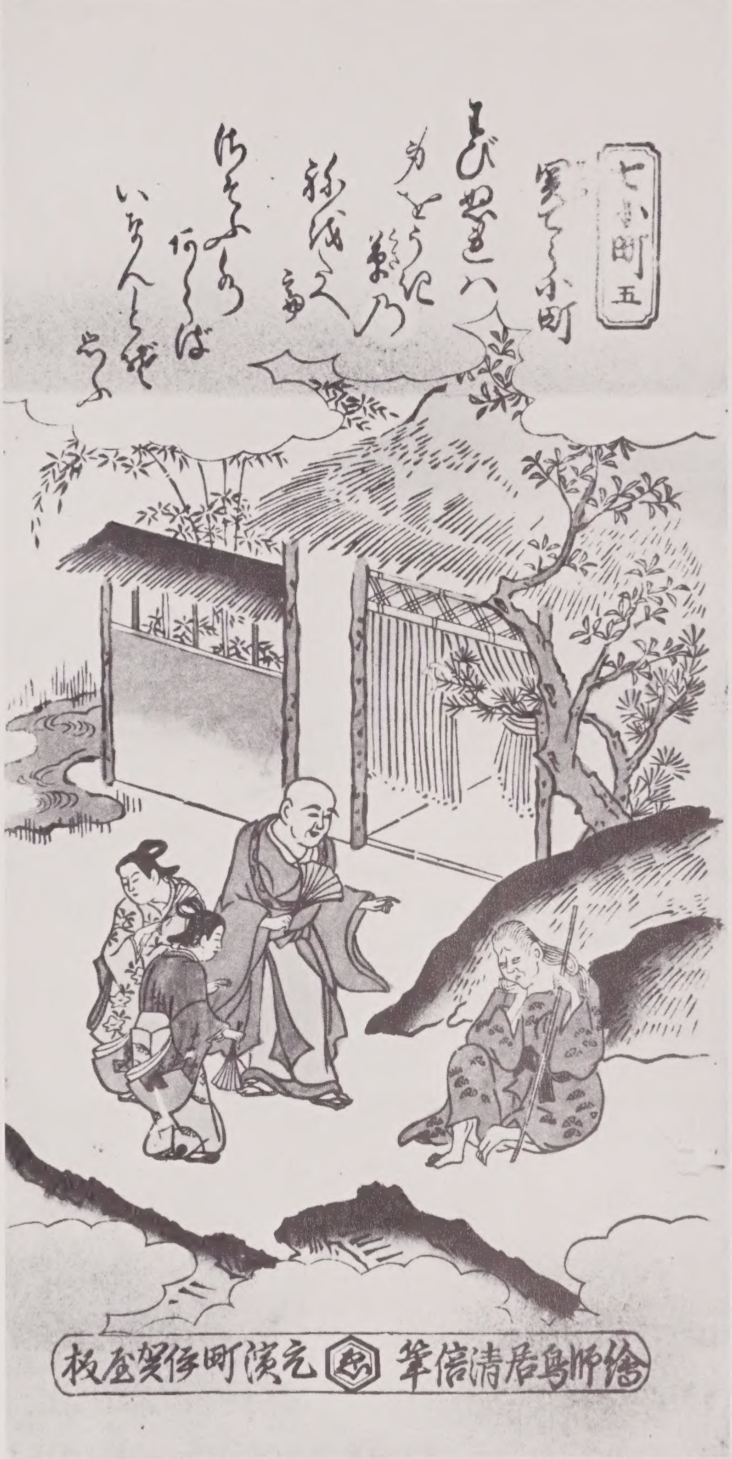
Monk. Did you really study the Sotōri-hime school? I have heard that the well-known poetess Ono no Komachi was of that school. For example,

"In my loneliness
my spirit droops like duckweed
cut off at the roots:
if there are such tempting streams,
how, I think, should I refuse?"

Komachi. Yes. Since my husband Ōe no Koreakira had been unfaithful to me, I was feeling very depressed with the world; and Funya no Yasuhide, at the time when he became Governor of Mikawa Province and was going to take up his post, invited me to go with him, saying "Come out to the country: it may cheer you up!" So that is the poem I wrote for him at the time. With the passage of years I had quite forgotten about it, but now I hear it, how sad it makes me to recall again that ancient affair, over which I shed so many tears! (YT, p. 1616).

The monk then realises who the old woman is, and she is persuaded to take part in the Tanabata Festival at the monastery.

Komachi's poem also occurs both in the *Kokinshū* XVIII, 938 (KT, p. 19) and the *Komachi shū* (ZKT 19606).
926.18.13


七小町
五
絵師鳥居清信筆
元濱町伊賀屋板

13

14 **Kiyomasu II.** *Ōmu Komachi,* "Komachi the Parrot." No 6 (*roku*) from the series *Nana Komachi.* The poems (and their authors) are as follows:

Yōzei-in no gyosei:	The Composition of Retired Emperor Yōzei:
kumo no ue wa	The cloud-capped palace
arishi mukashi ni	where you lived long ago has
kawaranedo	not changed at all: but
mishi tamadare no	you saw through my bead curtains –
uchi ya yukashiki	do you think fondly of that?
Komachi no henka	Komachi's reply:
kumo no ue wa	The cloud-capped palace
arishi mukashi ni	where I lived long ago has
kawaranedo	not changed at all: but
mishi tamadare no	I saw through your bead curtains –
uchi zo yukashiki	yes, I think fondly of that!

The picture below shows the Councillor Yukiie, with his entourage, reading out to the aged Komachi a poem from the Retired Emperor Yōzei.

hosoe, 33.5 x 16.1; hand-coloured, with metallic dusting, *fuki-bokashi* technique; slight wormage (T), otherwise good condition.

Signature: *Eshi Torii Kiyomasu hitsu.*

Publisher: *Moto-Hama-chō Igaya hanmoto,* with trademark of Igaya.

Date: *c.* 1740.

For general information on the set, see No. 11. There is another specimen in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.13328).

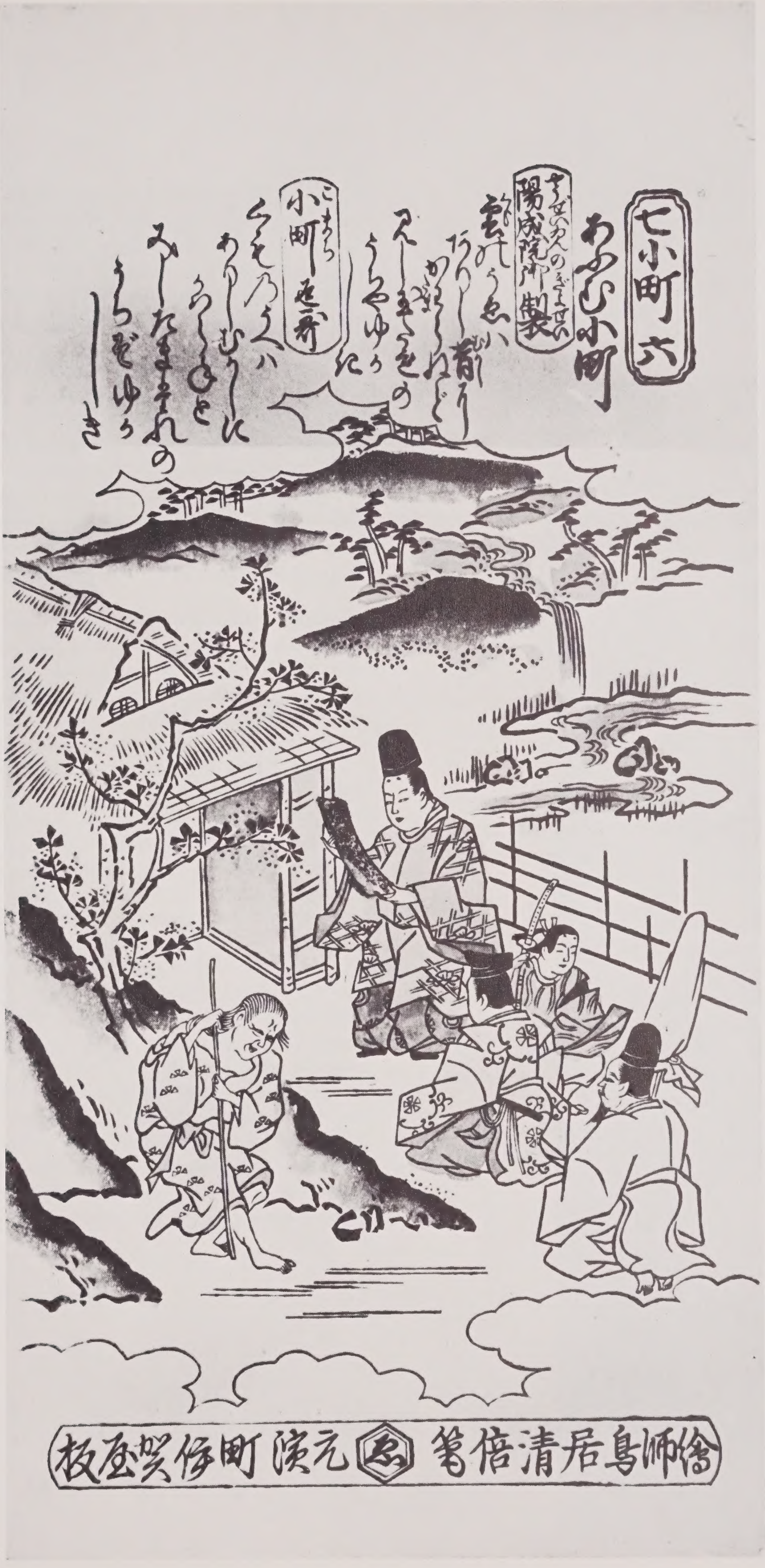
In the Nō play *Ōmu Komachi,* the Retired Emperor Yōzei sends Yukiie with a poem for Komachi, who is now a hundred years old and living in seclusion. She does not want to reply at all, but eventually says she will reply with one syllable, *zo.* She makes Yukiie repeat the Emperor's poem, and explains that her answer is to substitute *zo* for *ya,* thereby changing the poem from a question to a strong affirmation. (In English this has meant reversing the pronouns also.) The dialogue continues:

Yukiie. But are there examples of this kind in ancient practice too?

Komachi. Indeed, yes. This type of poem is what is called a "Parrot Reply." Now that I am composing my poem by stealing the poem of the Emperor, I have reason to fear the punishment of Heaven: but if it is for the sake of Japanese poetry, perhaps the Gods will deign to forgive me! (*clapping her hands*). To be sure, it is a virtue of Japanese poetry that it enables even those who are not of noble birth to associate with the highest in the land!

When we inquire about the various types of Japanese poem, there are long poems (*chōka*) and short ones of thirty-one syllables (*tanka); sendōka,* which have thirty-eight syllables; acrostics (*oriku*); comic poems (*haikai*); hybrid poems of twenty-four syllables (*konbonka*); parrot replies (*ōmu-gaeshi*); and palindromes (*kaibunka*).

Of these, consider the Parrot Reply. In China there is a bird called the parrot, which takes in the words people say and turns them into its own chatter. If you say something to it, it answers with the same words. So when an answering poem is just like this parrot bird, we call it the "Parrot Reply." (YT, pp. 21-22.) 926.18.15


七小町　六
あふむ小町
陽成院御製（やうぜいゐんのぎよせい）
雲のうへハ
ありし昔に
かはらねど
みしたまだれの
うちやゆかし
き
小町返哥（こまち）
雲のうへハ
ありし昔に
かはらねど
みしたまだれの
うちぞゆかし
き
繪師鳥居清倍筆
元濱町伊賀屋板

14

15 Kiyomitsu. Segawa Kikunojō II as Aburaya Osome with a battledore and shuttlecock. The poem (T), by *Jō[a],* reads:

omoisome	Start thinking of her,
mi-some Osome no	and you start to see her – Osome,
hana musume	the flower of maidens!

hashira-e, 62.9 x 9.9; 3 colour blocks (red, pink, blue); trimmed; some oxidation; horizontal fold-marks.

Signature: *Torii Kiyomitsu ga,* seal *Kiyomitsu.*
Block-cutter: *Tsūsen* (*kan*).

Publisher: *Tōri Abura-chō Hōsendō,* seals *Maru-Ko* and *Fuji.*

Date: 1758.

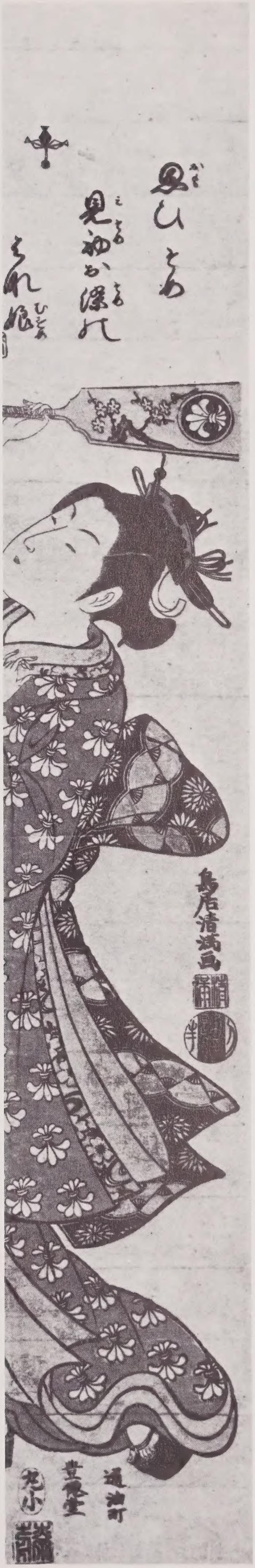
The story of the beautiful Osome and her youthful lover Hisamatsu was originally an *utazaimon,* or popular ballad, and belongs to a group which date from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when a number of "love-suicide" tales were cast in this idiom and performed to the accompaniment of *shamisen.* In earlier days *utazaimon* had a religious flavour, and were performed by monks who had a taste for entertaining; but they gradually assumed a more secular character, were printed on broadsheets, and exercised a great influence both on the puppet theatre and on Kabuki. The modern Naniwa-bushi derives from *utazaimon,* and a form of *utazaimon* still survives as a Bon dance in Ishikawa Prefecture (EHD, s.v.).

The *utazaimon* versions of *Osome Hisamatsu* have been thoroughly studied by Kuroki Kanzō (1943, pp. 292). The story is based on an actual love-suicide, which took place in 1710, and has become the most famous of all *utazaimon,* as a result of many stage adaptations. One of the earliest, by Ki no Kaion, was for the Ōsaka puppet theatre in 1711, and there was another version performed in 1767 in Ōsaka; but the version which is most commonly played on the Kabuki stage today is based on the play *Shinpan Utazaimon,* written by Chikamatsu Hanji and first produced in Ōsaka in 1780. Kiyomitsu's print, however, commemorates a Kabuki version which was produced in Edo from the fifteenth day, first month, 1758, at the Nakamura-za as Act II of a drama about the Soga Brothers, *Toki-tsu-kaze irifune Soga* (KND, pp. 267-70; KN 4, pp. 334-36). In it the great Kikunojō played Osome, while Nakamura Kiyosaburō took the part of Hisamatsu. The story seems to have unfolded in a slightly different way from that in Chikamatsu's play. Osome, in love with Hisamatsu, steals a hundred gold *ryō* from her mother to give to him, but her brother and an accomplice substitute counterfeit money, to the discomfiture of Hisamatsu. The scene ends with Osome protesting her innocence, and we do not get as far as the double suicide. What function the battledore and shuttlecock served is not clear, but no doubt Kikunojō flourished them with great effect.

The poem, which makes play with the name *Osome* and the suffix *-some,* "beginning," is by Jōa, whose seal is here partly cut off, but can be recognised from many other prints of the period, especially by Kiyomitsu. In a previous publication (1964, p. 192) I have identified Jōa as Kansuidō Jōa, a writer of *kusazōshi* (novelettes) active *c.* 1750-70. This information may be amplified from entries in DJ, DJJ and KSM. Kansuidō Jōa was the first author of *kusazōshi* to affix his own name to his work, a practice which thereafter became standard. Previously only the name of the illustrator had been given. Jōa was also the first to inscribe by his name *gesaku,* "written for fun" – a term which established itself as a generic word for the light-hearted novels and stories of the later Edo period. Jōa also used the pen-name Bokuan. Among his stories are: *Saruzuka monogatari* (3 vols., 1752: illustrated by Kiyomitsu); *Kataki-uchi momo no ori-eda* (2 vols., 1758); *Bakemono jūban-giri* (2 vols., 1764: signed Kansuitei Jōa); *Kikusakaya* (2 vols., n.d.: cf. No. 48 in this catalogue); and *Konjaku Urashima-banashi* (3 vols., 1767: for Urashima, cf. No. 71). This last work is signed "Jōa, the old man eighty-two," which would make the year of his birth 1686 by Japanese reckoning. He was therefore about seventy-two when he wrote the poetic epigraph for Kikunojō, and he presumably died soon after 1767.

It may be added that Kiyomitsu's design is borrowed from that of a hand-coloured *hashira-e* by Okumura Masanobu, which may be compared from the illustration in UT 3, Pl. 156. For other Kiyomitsu pillar-prints from the same publisher, and also with poems by Jōa, cf. Stern (1969), Pl. 46; UT 4, Pl. 408.

Torii Kiyomitsu (1735-85) was one of the most important and prolific artists of the middle eighteenth century, though his work has never been studied seriously. He is often thought of in conjunction with Kiyohiro, though his work sometimes appears tired by comparison. He continued working after 1765, and his last work frankly imitates the style and technique of Harunobu. Kiyonaga was among his many pupils.   926.18.150



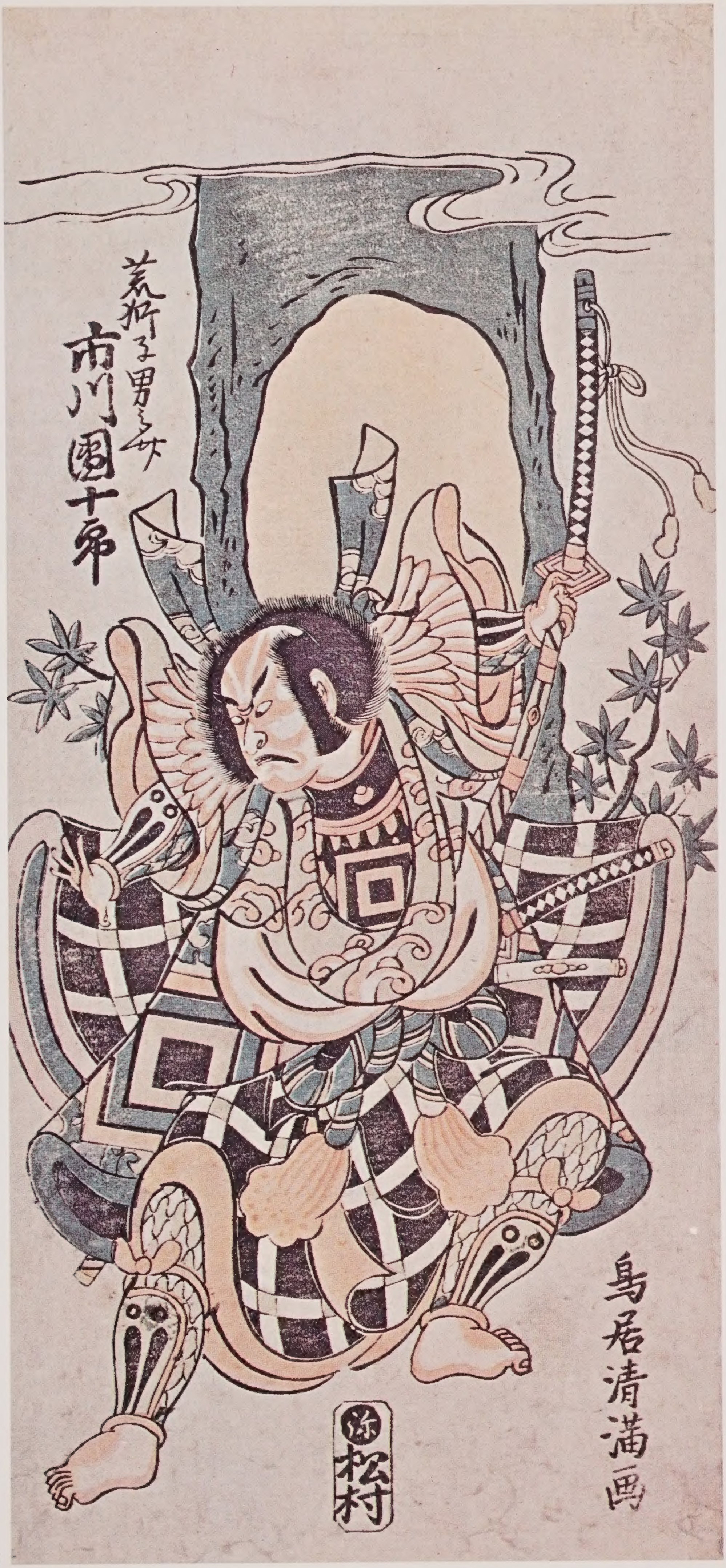
15

16 **Kiyomitsu.** *Ichikawa Danjūrō* IV as *Arashishi Otoko-no-Suke,* in a *shibaraku* dance.

hosoe, 30.9 x 14.1; colour blocks, overprinting.
Signature: *Torii Kiyomitsu ga.*
Publisher: trademark of *Matsumura Ya [hei].*
Date: 1759.

This print illustrates Danjūrō as he appeared in the first act of *Okunizome shusse butai,* the *kaomise* play for the eleventh month, 1759, at the Ichimura-za (KND, p. 284; KN 3, p. 380). At the Hachiman Shrine he comes upon Ashikaga Yoshitora (played by Nakamura Utaemon) attempting to pull down two votive paintings *(ema).* With a cry *Shibaraku!* ("Wait a moment!"), and brandishing an enormous sword, he admonishes Yoshitora. But Yoshitora is unrepentant, and receives a sound thrashing. Flushed with success, Danjūrō then seizes some armour which is apparently incorporated into the *ema,* and with one blow he decapitates five monks standing nearby. This spectacular feat does not sound very moral, but violence makes for good theatre, as the television producers have found. *Shibaraku* scenes were a specialty of the Danjūrō family, having been introduced into Kabuki by the first Ichikawa Danjūrō in 1697.

Kiyomitsu's print is copied from a print in *ōban* format by Kiyomasu II, of which the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has a specimen (47.231). The Kiyomasu print is of Ichikawa Ebizō performing a *shibaraku* dance, and probably dates to the later 1740s. 926.18.42


荒獅子男之助
市川團十郎
鳥居清満画
松村

16

17 **Kiyomitsu.** *Yoshizawa Goroichi* as *Osugi,* playing a *shamisen,* and *Azuma Tōzō* II as *Otama* playing a *kokyū.* They are identically dressed in character as *tori-oi* performers. A song (T) reads as follows:

kyō e ashita no
kane no koe
shogyō mujō no
hibiki ari
tama ga kokyū no
shinobine wa
taga ito kakete
yumihari no
tsuki ni yagoe no
hototogisu
naite iru sa no
yama takami
hitoki no sugi ga
nejime sae
hiku ne ni nururu

"The voice of the bell of tomorrow casts its echoes over today, to remind us of the impermanence of all human activity. Who is threading pearls to the quiet sound of Tama's fiddle, as she touches the string with taut bow? Beneath the bow of the new moon the night-voiced cuckoo cries, and on the mountain heights a solitary cedar stands – while Sugi tightens her *shamisen* strings, and at the sound of her plucking I am drenched with tears!"

hosoe, 30.2 x 14.6; 2 colour blocks (pink, green); hole (TR) repaired, with loss of Goroichi's *mon.*

Signature: *Torii Kiyomitsu hitsu.*

Publisher: trademark *Ya* + *hanmoto* (of Ōgiya?).

Date: 1761.

This specimen: Waterhouse 1970, Pl. 4. For the publisher's trademark, cf. No. 18 (same play), and Gunsaulus, 1955, p. 243, No. 1; p. 252, No. 25. An alternative interpretation is Matsumura Yahei. Kiyomitsu reused this design for another print of *tori-oi,* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.19021 [14-17-B]). This shows Segawa Kikunojō as Yaoya Oshichi (with a *shamisen*) and Bandō Hikosaburō as Kichisaburō (with a *kokyū*) in a performance datable to 1768, and published by Matsumura. In the later print also the *mon* of the two actors are shown in the same place next to their names. There is also a related print by Harunobu in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (31-54-112), showing two *tori-oi* figures, the LH one being very similar to that on the Walker print; and it is likely that Harunobu took his idea from Kiyomitsu. For a rendering of *tori-oi* by Toyonobu, cf. UZ 1, CPl. 15.

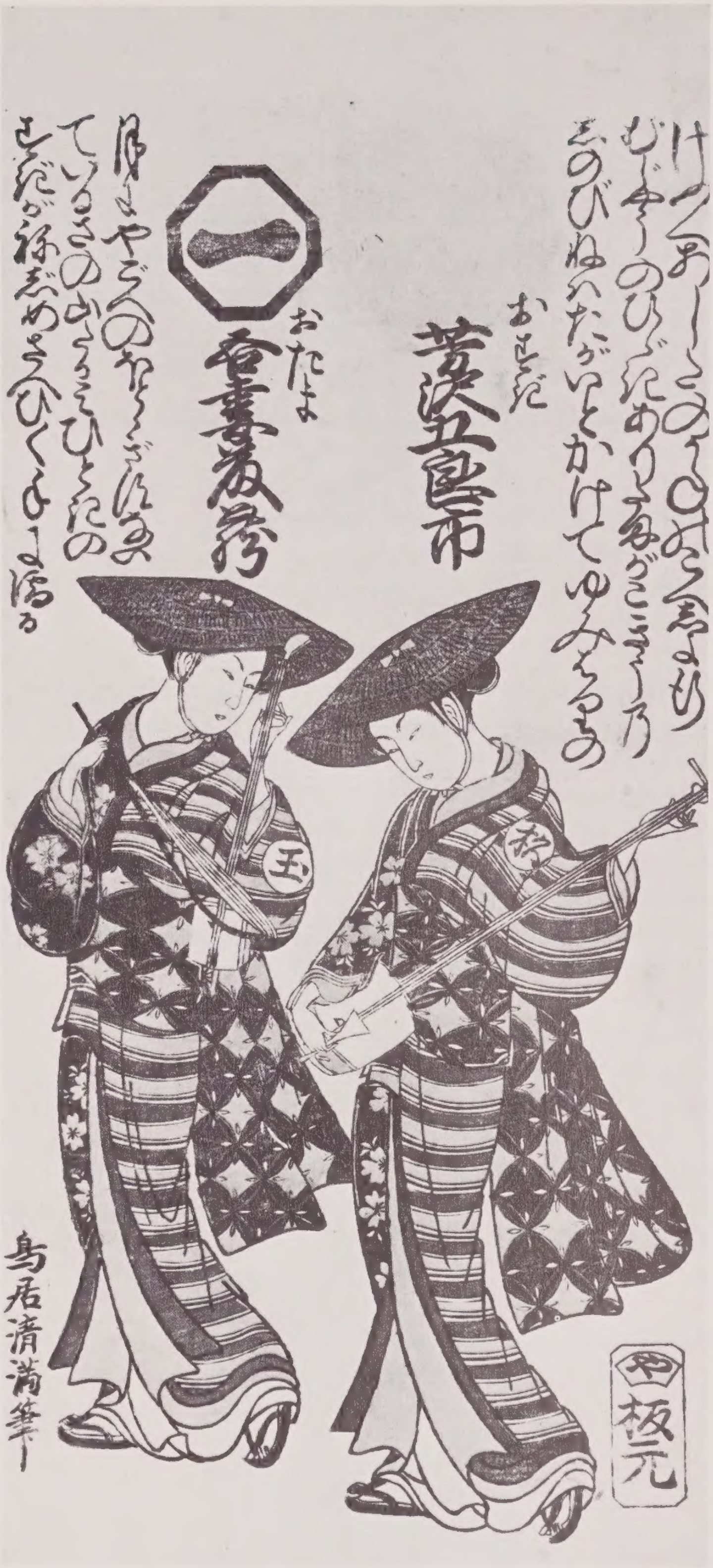
Yoshizawa Goroichi (1737-92) took this name on being adopted by Yoshizawa Ayame II (1702-54), though it is not clear when this occurred. In late 1764 he became Sakinosuke III, and in 1778 Ayame IV. According to Akiba Yoshimi (in EHD, s.v.), Azuma Tōzō II (1724-76) became Tōzō II in 1730, but he seems to have continued using his earlier name Agemaki Rinya until late 1760 (cf. KN 3, p. 404). He and Goroichi appeared together at the Ichimura-za during late 1760 and early 1761, and it seems probable that the performance shown here was part of the New Year play there in 1761, *Edo murasaki kongen Soga,* in the second act of which, *Fude tsubana Yaoya Oshichi,* Goroichi played Osugi (in reality the wife of Kudō Suketsune) (KN 3, p. 426). Tōzō's main rôles in this play were as Tora and Agoya, but he is known as founder of the Azuma school of Kabuki dance, and may have taken the part of Otama for the dance piece shown here.

Osugi and Otama were two beautiful girls who earned their living by begging on Ai-no-yama, the mountain separating the Inner and Outer Shrines at Ise. One played *shamisen,* the other played *kokyū* (though some say both played the *shamisen*), and the first mention of them seems to be in the *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* of 1686.

It is said that they caught with their *shamisen* plectra the small coins that pilgrims to the shrines flung at their faces. Various plays, by Chikamatsu and others, mention them, and they also form the theme of several songs and poems (see NKS 6; EHD 1, p. 10; Ōmagari, 1955; *Kono hana,* No. 3, March, 1910, p.7). One of the minor characters in plays about the arsonist Yaoya Oshichi came to be Osugi; and the Walker print and the Boston Kiyomitsu cited above suggest that for a time there was a fashion for including in these plays a *tori-oi* dance featuring Osugi and Otama. Compare also a Toshinobu datable to 1732, which shows Kichisaburō holding a *kokyū,* in UT 2, Pl. 132.

Tori-oi, "bird-chasers," were music-making beggars who clapped their hands or beat a fan while singing songs, at New Year, in the same manner as children scaring birds away from crops in the fields. There were – and still are in Eastern and Northern Japan – New Year festivals called *tori-oi* (or a variant of this word): Nishitsunoi (1958) gives detailed descriptions. *Tori-oi* beggars either go back to Ippen Shōnin (1239-89), or began in 1356 (Maeda, 1966): but the effective founder of the movement was one Tataki no Yojirō, head of a group of vagrants living at Hidenji in Kyōto, during the later sixteenth century. The name *tori-oi* as applied to his followers seems to appear first in the *Jinrin kinmō zui* of 1690; and Kabuki versions, with girls playing the *shamisen* as *tori-oi,* seem to have started with Mizuki Tatsunosuke (1673-1745) of Ōsaka. This stage tradition was then transmitted to Edo and maintained there until Meiji, and *ukiyoe* prints indicate that *tori-oi* dancers, one playing *shamisen,* the other playing *kokyū,* were familiar there during the middle eighteenth century in particular.

The *kokyū,* Japan's only bowed musical instrument, was probably developed in the Ryūkyū Islands, in imitation of the Portuguese rebec (see Waterhouse, *loc. cit.*). 926.18.43



17

18 **Kiyomitsu.** *Ichikawa Danjūrō* IV as *Hōjō Tokimasa* holding a sword and a small image of Kannon Bosatsu. The poem (T) reads:

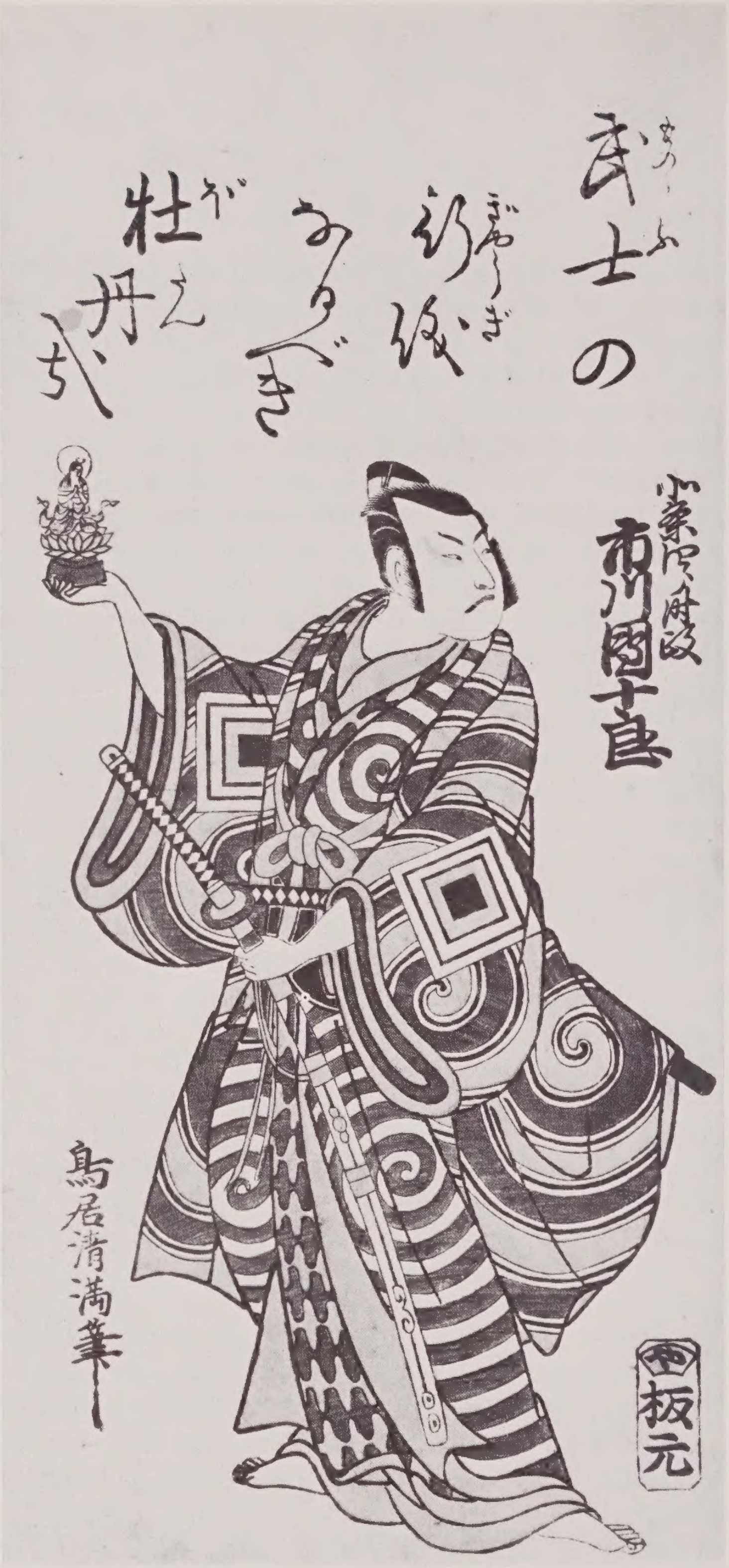
mononofu no	It must be the way
gyōgi narubeki	that military men behave –
botan kana	look at the Peony!

hosoe, 29.7 x 13.7; 2 colour blocks (pink, green).
Signature: *Torii Kiyomitsu hitsu.*
Publisher: trademark *Ya* + *hanmoto* (of Ōgiya?).
Date: 1761.

This specimen: Ficke (1920), No. 69 and Pl. The play here commemorated is *Fude tsubana Yaoya Oshichi,* in the third month, 1761, at the Ichimura-za (KN 3, p. 426). The plot seems to have combined the love story of Yaoya Oshichi, the girl who literally set Edo on fire (in 1681), with an episode from the feudal wars of the twelfth century. Hōjō Tokimasa (1138-1215) was guardian to the young Minamoto Yoritomo, and supported him in his struggle for power.

Botan, "the Peony," refers to the *kaemon* (alternative crest-badge) of the Ichikawa Danjūrō line, which was originally acquired by Danjūrō II at the time of the Ejima affair in 1714. Lady Ejima, the protagonist in this scandal which rocked the Shōgun's court and brought about permanent closure of the Yamamura-za theatre, is said to have given Danjūrō a lacquer box with a design of peonies on it (Ōmagari, 1955, Vol. II, p. 505).

For the publisher's trademark, cf. No. 17. 926.18.44


武士の
行儀なるべき
牡丹かな
市川團十郎
鳥居清満筆
板元

18

19 **Kiyomitsu.** Murasaki Shikibu seated on the verandah of Ishiyama-dera, composing a poem. In the background, Lake Biwa.

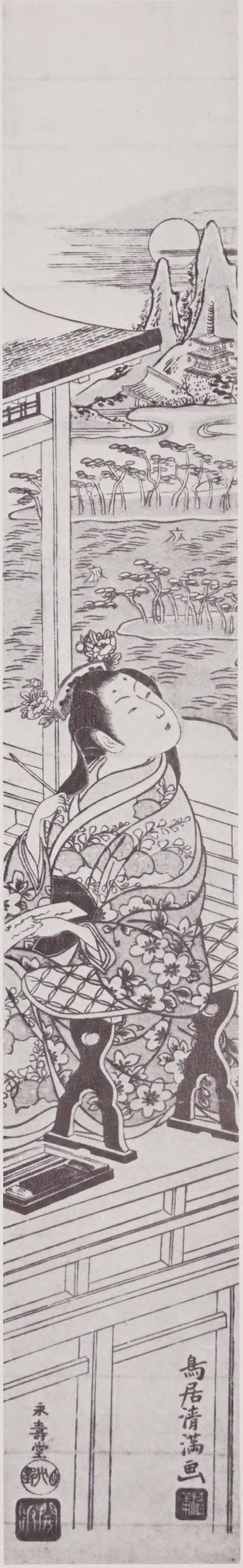
hashira-e, 67.5 x 10.3; 3 colour blocks (red, yellow, blue); faded, some air-burning; horizontal fold-marks.

Signature: *Torii Kiyomitsu ga,* seal *Kiyomitsu.*

Publisher: *Eijudō,* seals *Hibino* and *kaihan* ("publisher").

Date: earlier 1760s.

Prints by Kiyomitsu with the imprint of Eijudō Hibino seem to belong to the earlier 1760s. For one datable to 1765, cf. Waterhouse (1964), Pl. 73. 926.18.149



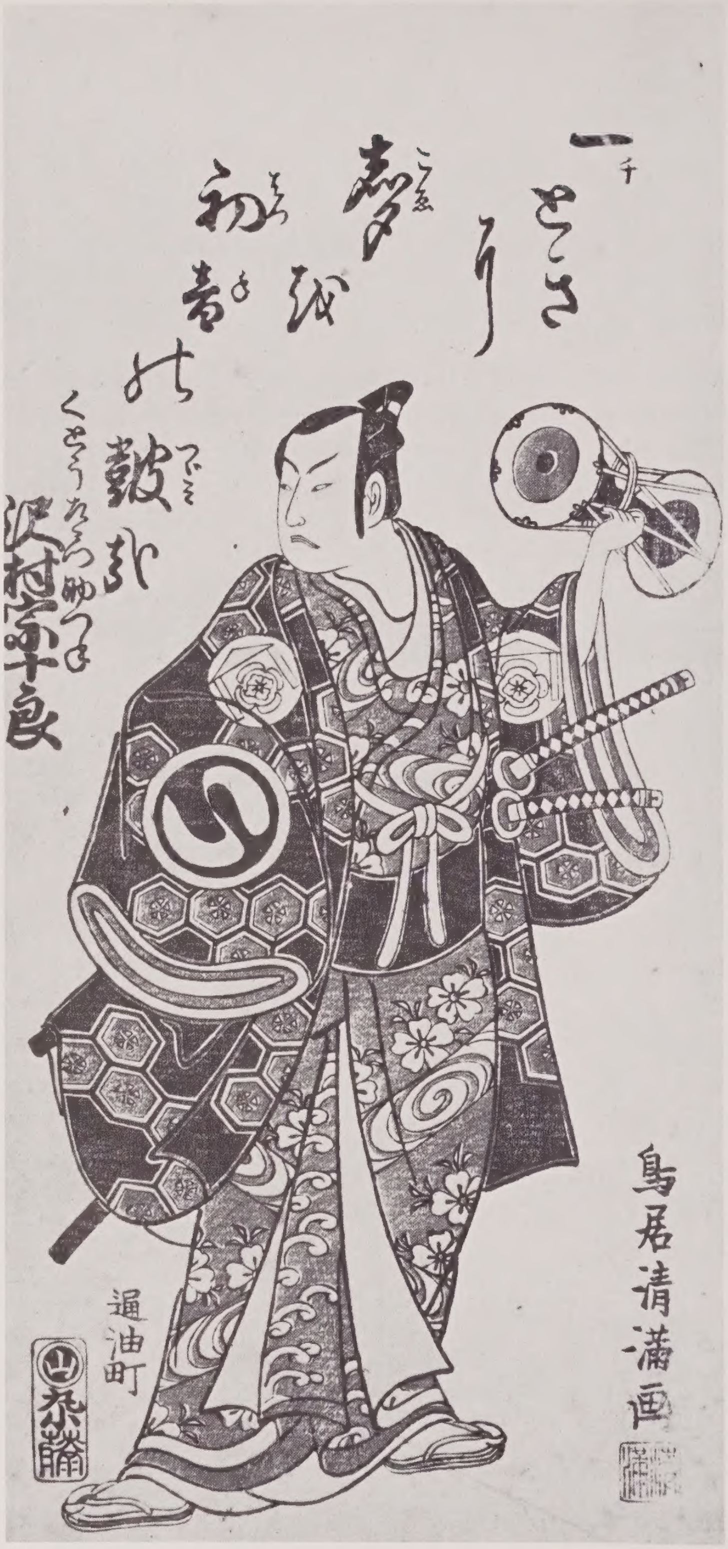
19

20 **Kiyomitsu.** *Sawamura Sōjūrō* II as *Kudō Saemon Suketsune.* He wears two swords, and holds up a small drum. His costume bears the crest-badge of the Soga clan (a stylised tea-flower beneath a cottage roof) in addition to his own *mon*. A poem (T) reads:

ichi toki ni	At the first watch
koe wo hatsune no	its voice is the first sound we hear –
tsuzumi kana	hark to the drum!

hosoe, 29.8 x 13.8; 2 colour blocks (blue, pink).
Signature: *Torii Kiyomitsu ga,* seal *Kiyomitsu.*
Publisher: trademark *Yama + Maru-Ko* and seal *Fuji,* of Yamamoto Kohei, of Maruya, at *Tōri-Abura-chō.*
Date: early 1760s.

This specimen: Ficke (1920), No. 71. Ficke, who describes the print as "A massive composition, of much dignity," dates it to a performance in 1769 (cf. KN 4, p. 102), but the style and technique suggest an earlier dating. Sawamura Sōjūrō II (1713-70) was a pupil of Tomizawa Montarō of Ōsaka, and began his acting career as a *waka-onnagata.* He came to Edo in 1733; and, after more than one change of name, became a *tachiyaku* (principal male actor), was adopted by Sōjūrō I, and succeeded to the title Sōjūrō II in 1749 (KN 3, pp. 43, 51). In 1756 he started to specialise in villain rôles *(jitsuaku),* and Kudō Suketsune, the wicked cousin of the Soga Brothers' father, was one of his specialities. He acted this part in 1760 (KN 3, p. 402), 1761 (KN 3, p. 426), 1763 (KN 3, p. 508), 1764 (KN 3, p. 541) and 1765 (KN 3, p. 568), and any of these dates is a possibility for Kiyomitsu's print. The poem probably refers to the drum used to announce the beginning of Kabuki performances. 926.18.34

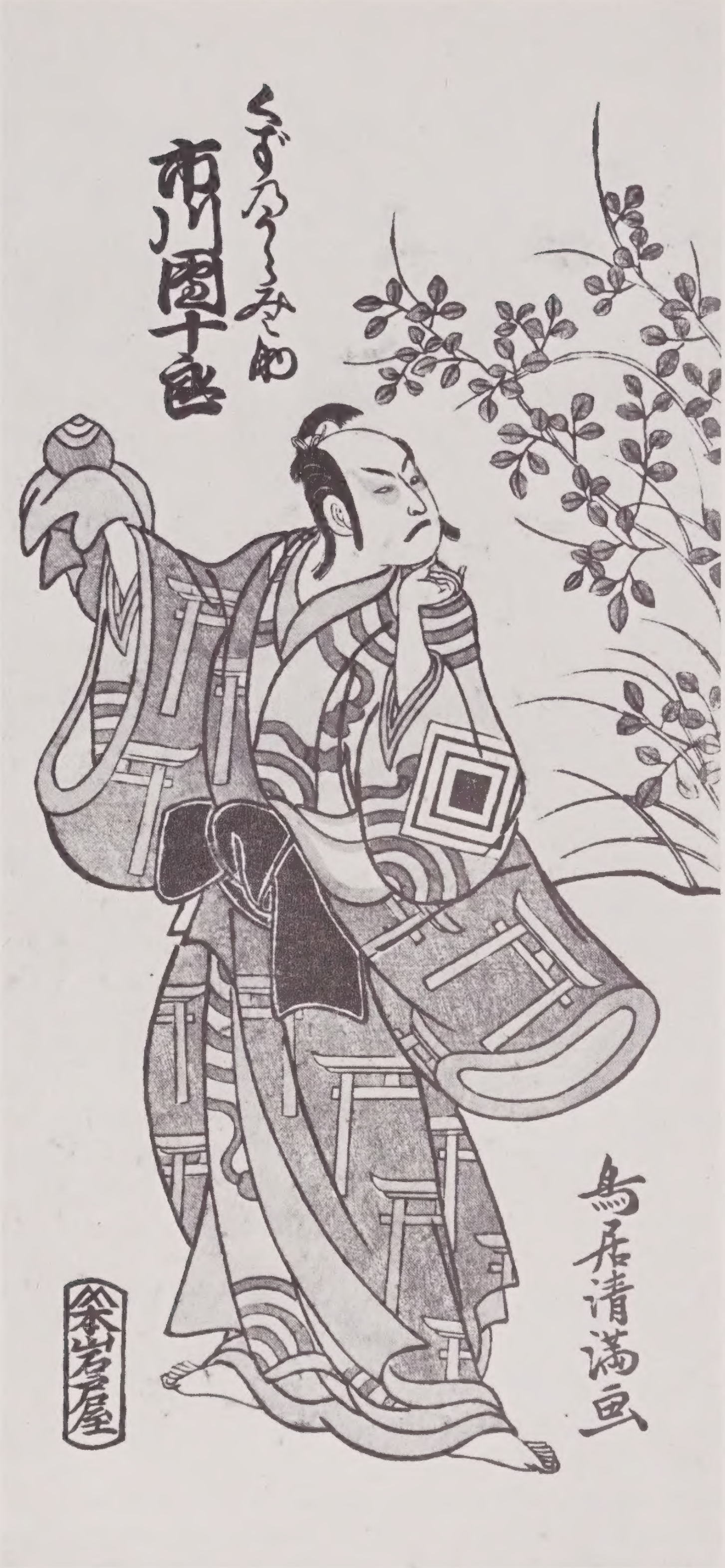

沢村宗十郎
通油町
鳥居清満画

20

21 Kiyomitsu. *Ichikawa Danjūrō* IV as *Kuzu no Uraminosuke.* Against the background of a flowering shrub he holds up a large jewel on a cloth.

hosoe, 30.7 x 14.0; 4 colour blocks.
Signature: *Torii Kiyomitsu ga.*
Publisher: trademark *hon* of *Iwatoya.*
Date: middle 1760s.

Ichikawa Danjūrō IV (1711-78) succeeded to his title in 1754, and retired from it in 1770 to become Matsumoto Kōshirō II. Kuzu no Uraminosuke was a character in certain plays based on the *Yoshitsune-ki* (see Iizuka, 1926, p. 115), but the records published in KN do not make it possible to identify the performance depicted here.
926.18.37


市川團十郎
鳥居清満画
本 岩屋

21

Kiyonobu II

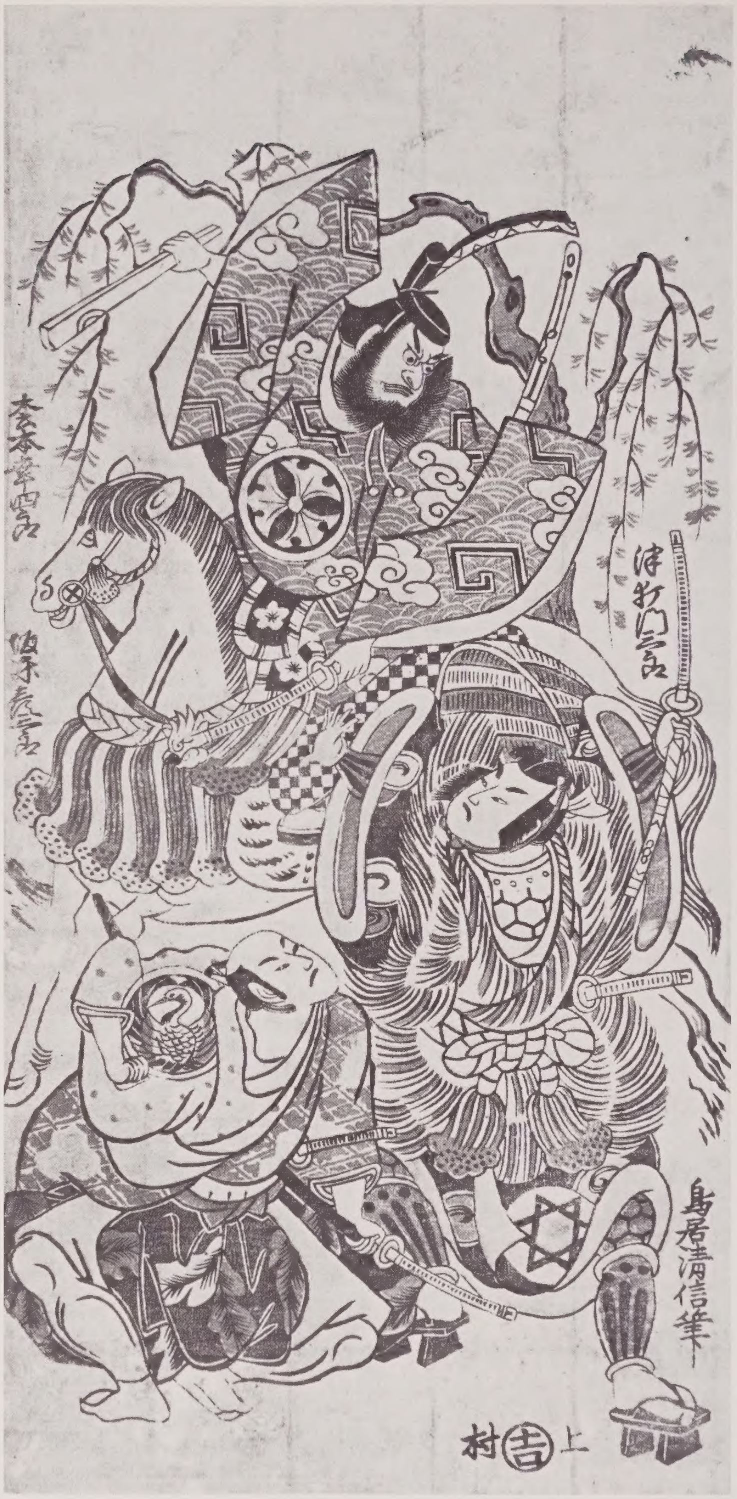
22 **Kiyonobu II.** *Matsumoto Kōshirō* II, *Tsuuchi Monsaburō* I and *Bandō Hikosaburō* I in character, with the background of a willow tree in leaf. Kōshirō is on horseback, bearded and wearing a formal costume with a design of clouds and lightning against a background of waves.

hosoe, 30.3 x 14.7; 2 colour blocks (pink, green); air-burning; repair (ML).
Signature: *Torii Kiyonobu hitsu.*
Publisher: *Uemura,* seal *Kichi [emon].*
Date: *c.* 1747-50.

Kiyonobu II seems to have inherited Kiyonobu I's title in the late 1720s or soon thereafter. It is not known when he died.

Matsumoto Kōshirō II took his title in 1735, and in 1754 became Ichikawa Danjūrō IV. His costume on this print suggests a play about Sugawara no Michizane (cf. Nos. 30, 31), which was one of his specialities, and we learn from notes in KN 2, pp. 528-29, that Sugawara plays became popular from 1747; according to Iizuka (1926), pp. 36 f., this proceeded from the success of the Ōsaka puppet play, *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami,* the previous year. In 1747 and again in 1748, both the Ichimura-za and the Nakamura-za presented Sugawara plays – those at the Ichimura-za having a *female* Sugawara no Michizane (KN 2, p. 528; KN 3, p. 11).

Of the other two actors on Kiyonobu's print, Tsuuchi Monsaburō I, whose life is not recorded in detail, died in 1756 (KN 3, p. 279); while Bandō Hikosaburō I (1693-1751) came permanently to Edo in 1740, and for the remainder of his career acted exclusively at the Ichimura-za. Kōshirō and Monsaburō were more mobile, but all three actors performed together at the Ichimura-za during two periods, *c.* 1738-42 (Monsaburō went to Kyōto in late 1742) and *c.* 1747-49. The Walker print must refer to a performance during the second of these periods, but details are not forthcoming from the imperfect records in KN. 926.18.89


津打門三郎
松本幸四郎
坂東彦三郎
鳥居清信筆
上
吉
村

22

Kiyoshige

23 **Kiyoshige.** The actors *Ōtani Hiroji* and Segawa *Kikujirō* in character: Hiroji in a strong pose, holding a long sword, and Kikujirō holding up a large lotus flower.

hosoe, 32.2 x 15.3; hand-coloured, some *urushi* and metallic dusting; crease (M).

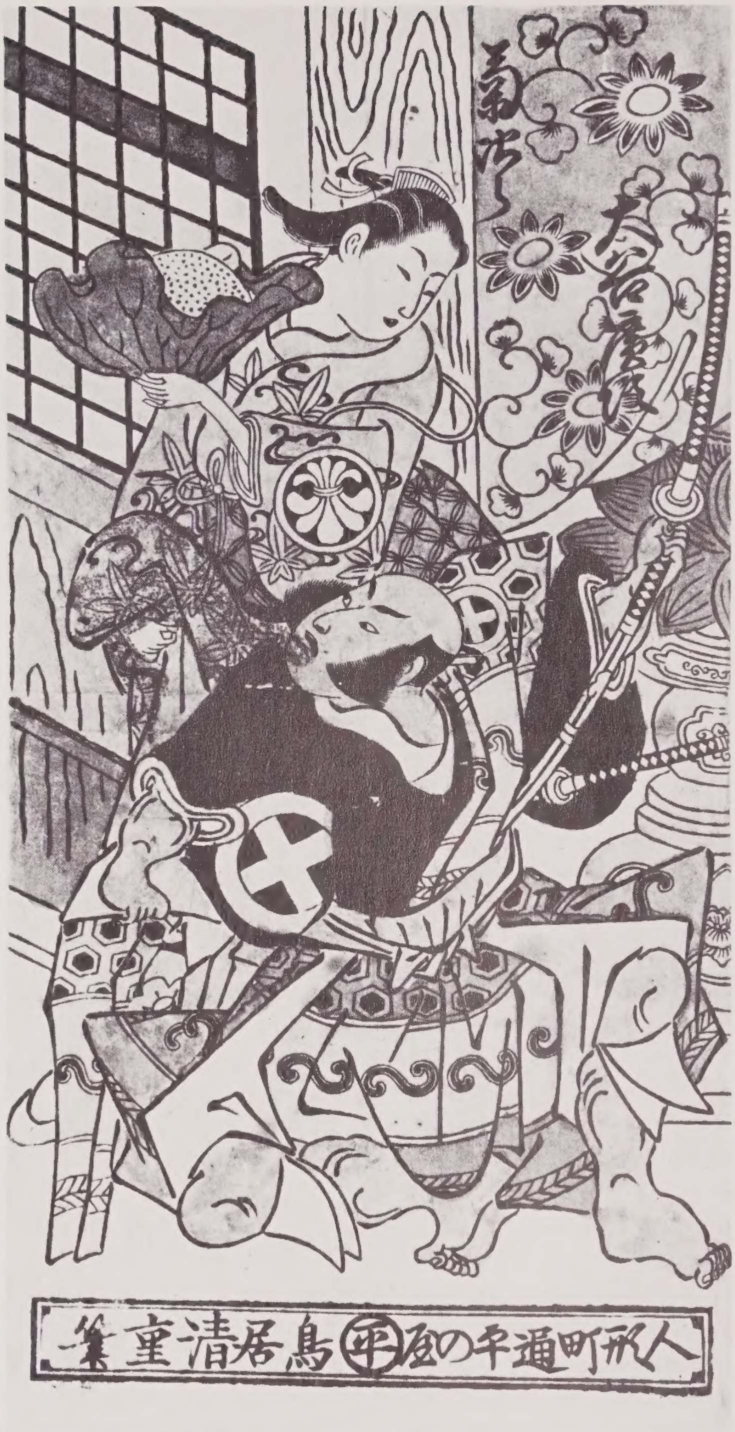
Signature: *Torii Kiyoshige hitsu.*

Publisher: *Ningyōchō-dōri Hiranoya,* with trademark *Hira.*

Date: earlier 1730s.

Torii Kiyoshige was a pupil of Kiyonobu I, and was active from about 1730 to 1760. He specialised in actor prints, but also did prints of female subjects and paintings.

Ōtani Hiroji I (d. 1747) and the female impersonator Segawa Kikujirō (d. 1756) appeared together in many productions of the 1730s, and it is difficult to identify the particular performance depicted here. According to Sexton's table (Binyon and Sexton, 1923, p. xlv) the publisher Hiranoya Kichibei was active 1720-36. 926.18.22


菊次郎
大谷廣治
人形町通平の屋㊥鳥居清重筆

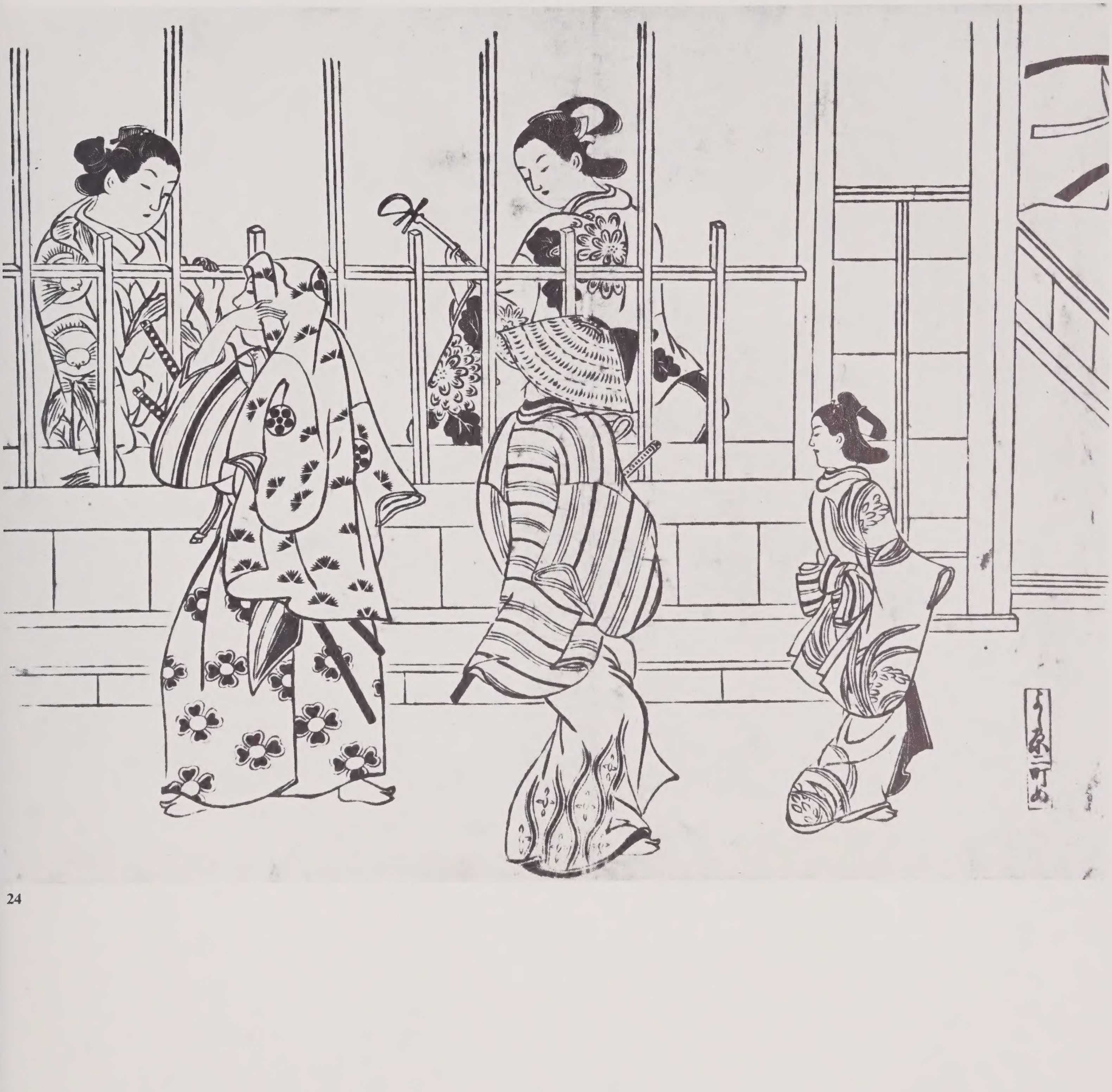
23

24 **Okumura Masanobu.** Album leaf showing Second Avenue in the Yoshiwara *(Yoshiwara Ni-chōme).* A courtesan (L) inside the display cage *(mise)* exchanges confidences with a prospective client, while her attendant plays on the *shamisen* the special type of music known as *sugagaki.* Another, anonymous client glances back at what is going on, as a maid *(kamuro)* leads him to his own assignation.

yokoe, 27.2 x 34.4; uncoloured; trimmed (R), edge frayed (B).
Unsigned.
Date: 1720s.

Shibui (1929) illustrates ten of twelve sheets from this album (Album L), which is unsigned, and to which he assigns the title *Yoshiwara-gayoi.* The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has a reprint of eleven of the sheets, with the signature of Masanobu on the final sheet. Both this reprint and Shibui make the Walker sheet No. 6 of the set. Boston also has another reprint of part of the set, including sheet No. 6; and one original of another sheet (21.5762: Spaulding coll.). Two or three other original sheets are known in other collections. The Metropolitan Museum (MMA: 3402) has what seems to be an early state of No. 6, with a MS date (BR) of Manji 3 (1660). This is clearly a mistake, but the Walker print itself is probably not a first edition.

Okumura Masanobu (d. 1764 or 1768 aged seventy-nine) is the most important and original artist of the period between the early Torii masters and the advent of Harunobu. His work spans fifty years, and includes albums, single-sheet prints, book illustrations and paintings. He published many of his own prints, and was a pioneer in the use of European perspective, the pillar-print and colour printing. He had a great influence on his contemporaries, and perhaps more than any other early *ukiyoe* print artist stands in need of careful and detailed study at the present time. 926.18.58



24

25 Okumura Masanobu. *Shin Yoshiwara Ōmon-guchi Naka-no-chō ukie kongen,* "Perspective View of the Great Gateway and of Naka-no-chō in the Shin Yoshiwara: One of the Original Perspective Prints." A view across Naka-no-chō, the main street of the New Yoshiwara pleasure quarter, into the open interior of a tea-house, the *Tomoe-ya.* In the street we see a courtesan with her entourage of two *kamuro* and a *shinzō,* together with various male admirers. Two other courtesans are also watching the procession from the background (L). At the right is the Great Gateway of the Yoshiwara, with an identifying banner, *Shin Yoshiwara Ōmon-guchi;* just inside the gate is a tub full of water, and a stack of fire-buckets on top, labelled respectively *Naka-no-chō mizutamari,* "Naka-no-chō water-tank," and *Shin Yoshiwara Ōmon-guchi.* Standing nearby is a *samurai,* who is wearing a basket hat and is being waited on by a *kamuro.* Another *samurai* in a basket hat has just come through the Great Gate and is also attended by a *kamuro,* who will lead him to her mistress. Among other figures we see a fish-seller, and a pilgrim, whose visit to the Yoshiwara was not necessarily connected with religion. On his back he wears the label *Higashiyama Shōshaku,* "The Little Buddha from Higashiyama," and his scrip is also labelled *Higashiyama.* (Higashiyama, besides being a district of Kyōto, was the name of a sub-sect of the Nishiyama Jōdo branch of Japanese Buddhism.) Outside the Great Gate is visible the end of the *Gojikken-michi,* the road leading up to the Yoshiwara. In later times this road was lined with tea-houses on both sides, but at this date it seems to have been undeveloped.

Large *yokoe,* 32.2 x 45.9 (excluding backing paper); hand-coloured; some air-burning.

Signature: *Yamato Tōbu gakō Hōgetsudō Tanchōsai Okumura Masanobu shōhitsu.*

Publisher: *Tōri-shio-chō akaki hyōtan shirushi Okumuraya hanmoto.*

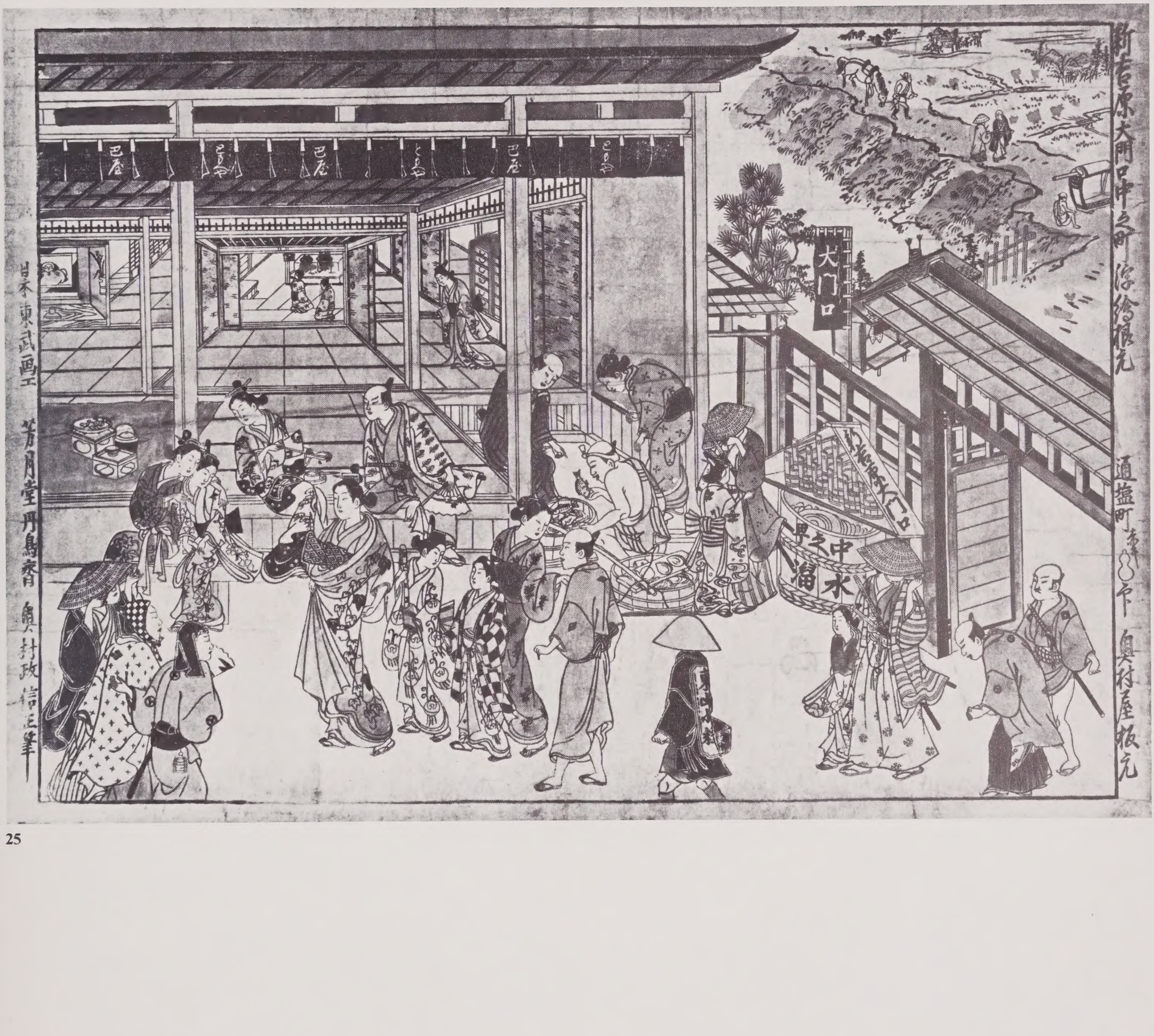
Date: *c.* 1730.

There is another specimen in Boston (MFAB: 06.386), with the signature and title cut off, and a third, trimmed down the RH side, is illustrated in UZ 1, Fig. 109. A fourth is described by Rumpf (1928), No. 72. One may compare with Masanobu's design a leaf from Moronobu's *Yoshiwara no tei,* which shows Naka-no-chō from the same viewpoint – though the whole composition is much simpler – and of which there is a specimen in the Metropolitan Museum (MMA: 808). Since Moronobu's album was well known, Masanobu may have been inviting deliberate comparison.

The *Yoshiwara taizen* (1768) describes the Ōmonguchi, the Emonzaka and the Gojikken-michi in these terms (quoted from Sobu, 1930, pp. 142-43):

> The distance from the Japan Dyke *(Nihon-zutsumi)* must be about 50 *ken* (100 yards). For this reason it is called the *Gojikken-michi,* or 50-*ken* Road. Also the hill leading down from the dyke towards the Great Gate is called the *Emonzaka* ("Smartening-Up Slope"). It acquired this name because most of the myriad guests who come to the Yoshiwara smarten up their dress here. Originally the Shin Yoshiwara was a roped-off enclosure, with a road leading straight from the Great Gate up to the dyke: but there was criticism of this, so they built a road with three curves in it, and it has remained like this up to the present day. At the Ōmon-guchi is a notice-board with the various regulations for prostitutes, and this is something which existed at the original Yoshiwara too. Master Nankaku [i.e. Hattori Nankaku, the Confucian poet and *roué* (d. 1759)] has composed a Chinese poem about the Japan Dyke:
>
> "In Spring by the Great Dyke the water is full:
> It reflects and sends on their way the spring costumes.
> At sunset it greets the young gentlemen,
> But it does not know where are the homes they return to!"

926.18.56


新吉原大門口中之町浮絵根元
通塩町 奥村屋板元
日本東武画工 芳月堂丹鳥齋 奥村政信正筆
大門口
巴屋
中之町
水溜

25

26 **Okumura Masanobu.** *Shin Yoshiwara Ōmon-guchi Naka-no-chō Ō-ukie,* "Large Perspective Picture of Naka-no-chō, Seen Through the Great Gate of the New Yoshiwara." By the Great Gate we see (R) a gentleman dismounting from his chair, as the regulations required, while one of the bearers mops his brow. To the right is hanging a supply of basket hats for hire to gentlemen who wished to visit the Yoshiwara incognito: one visitor has just obtained his, and is setting off inside. Two courtesans are standing near the Gate, while their small maid attempts to engage the interest of a gentleman. Other visitors are waiting at the Gate to hand over their swords for custody. The street beyond is lined on both sides with tea-houses, where one made appointments to visit the courtesans. Various courtesans, visitors, servants and pedlars of tobacco pouches and other items can be seen going about their business.

Very large *yokoe,* 43.7 x 66.4; hand-coloured; some air-burning.

Publisher: *Tōri-shio-chō Okumuraya Genroku hanmoto,* gourd seal.

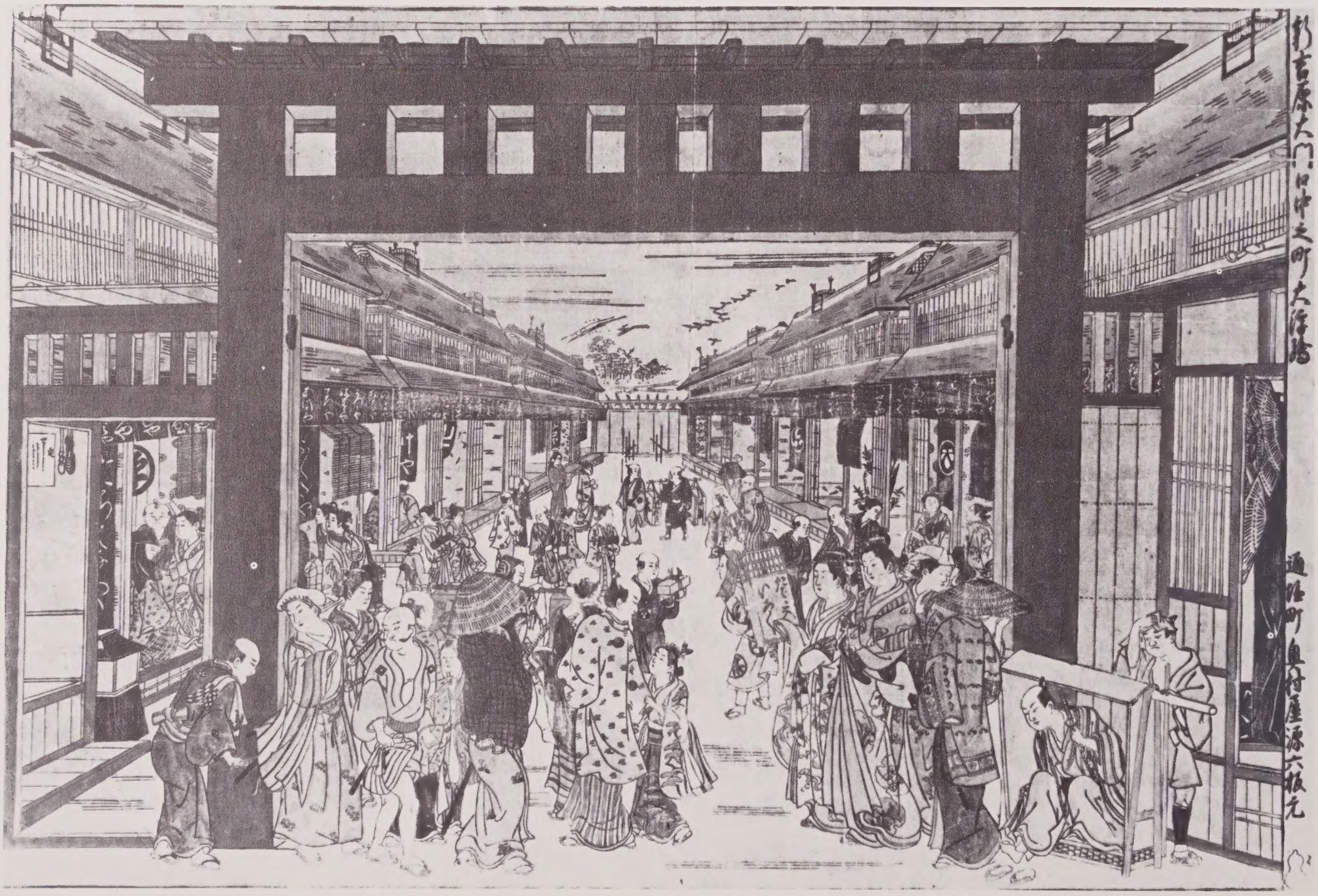
Date: *c.* 1730.

The New Yoshiwara was a square, moated compound of nearly eighteen acres, divided according to a grid plan into several streets. To get into it, clients had to pass through this gate, and the courtesans were forbidden to go outside it without a pass. The brothels themselves were not on the main street, but in the side streets.

For illustrations of other specimens, cf. Vignier (1909), Pl. XXX; Gookin (1922), No. 23 and Pl.; Stern (1969), No. 29 and Pl. (from the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago); Gruyter (1965), Pl. 31 (from the collection of the Rijksmuseum). There are other, related views of the same subject by Kiyotada (Gunsaulus, 1955, p. 114); by Tanaka Masunobu (Sotheby, 1965.5.3, No. 77); and by Toyoharu (FAM: 1933.4.486 [Duel 550]).

Okumura Masanobu's business name *Okumuraya Genroku* is found on a number of prints and illustrated books issued from *c.* 1724 into the early 1740s (Inoue, 1926, p. 8): but more detailed study of this signature (and of the related name *Genpachi*) will be necessary before a precise dating scheme can be devised. (For some of the speculation, cf. Yoshida, 1965-71, Vol. III, p. 261; Shibui, 1965, p. 127.) In 1750 cherry trees were planted along Naka-no-chō. 926.18.62

26


新吉原大門口中之町大浮絵
通塩町 奥村屋源六板元

27 Okumura Masanobu. *Genji: Hanachirusato.* Illustration to the *Hanachirusato* chapter (Ch. 11), "The Village of Falling Flowers," of the *Tale of Genji.* The poem (T) reads:

tachibana no *ka wo natsukashimi* *hototogisu* *hana chiru sato wo* *tazunete zo tou*	(for translation *v. infra*)

The picture below shows Genji with Lady Reikeiden and her sister, looking out into the garden, where we have a glimpse of orange-trees and a cuckoo in flight.

hosoe, 29.4 x 16.4; hand-coloured in red and black (with *urushi*); wormage (R, T), tear (R).

Signature: *Yamato gakō Okumura Masanobu shōhitsu,* seal *Okumura.*

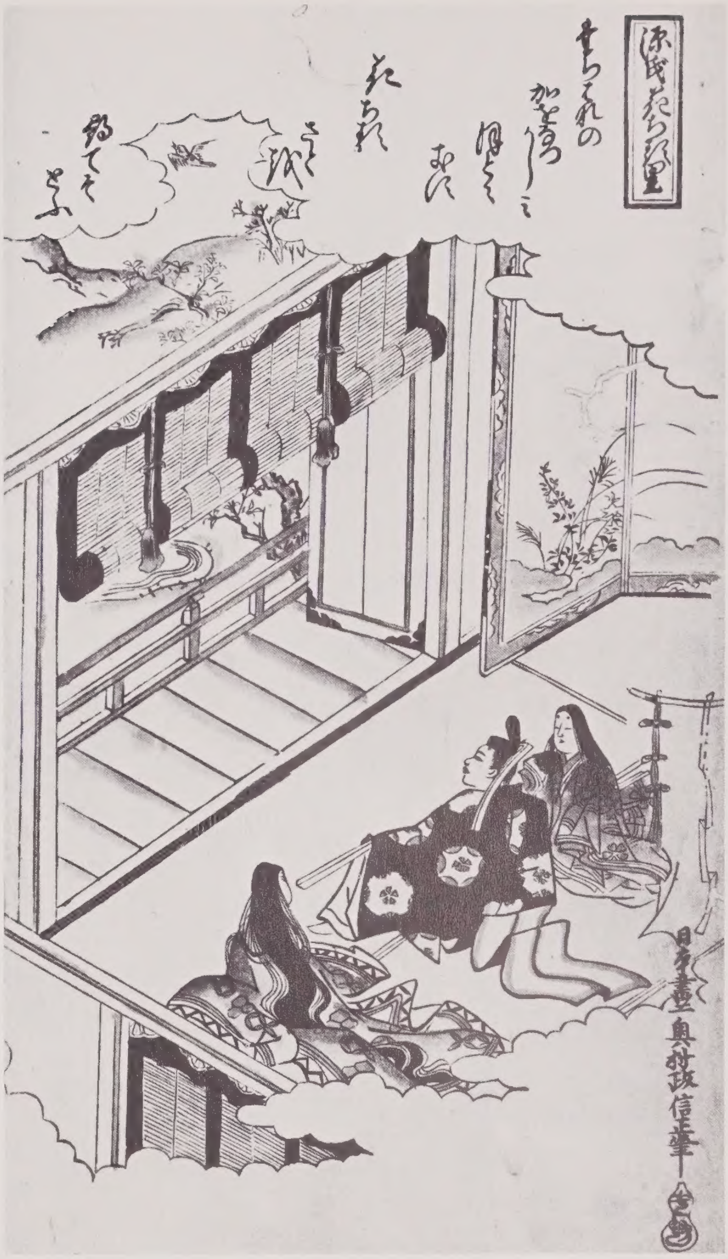
Date: *c.* 1730.

Another specimen: MFAB: 21.5776 (Spaulding coll.).

This print and the following one, No. 28, come from a set illustrating each of the fifty-four chapters of the *Tale of Genji.* There are three others of the set in Boston: MFAB: 06.388; 21.5777 (Spaulding coll.); 21.5771 (Spaulding coll.). For others, cf. Rumpf (1928), Nos. 75, 76; Sotheby (1963.5.6), No. 15. Okumura Masanobu illustrated the complete *Tale of Genji* more than once.

Genji, who has been going through a trying period both in private and in public life, decides to visit Lady Reikeiden, who had been at his father's court but is now living with her sister.

At last he arrived at Lady Reikeiden's house. Noting that it wore an aspect fully as cheerless and deserted as he had feared, he hastened at once to the elder lady's room. They talked much of old times and the night was soon far advanced. It was the twentieth day and the moon had now risen, but so tall were the surrounding trees that the garden still looked dark and gloomy as before. The lady herself sat in a room pervaded by the fragrance of orange-trees. She was no longer young, but still preserved much dignity and charm. Though she had never been singled out as a particular favourite with the late Emperor, they had been on very familiar terms and she was able to entertain Genji with many intimate recollections of his father's life and habits. Indeed so vivid a picture of those old days soon rose before his mind that the tears came into his eyes. A cuckoo was suddenly heard in the garden outside, perhaps the very same that had sung when he was waiting at the gate of the little house; its note at any rate seemed strangely familiar. Had it followed him? Pleased with this idea he sang softly to himself the old song, "Knows the cuckoo when he sings?" Presently he handed to her this poem: "It is the scent of orange-trees that draws the cuckoo to the village of falling flowers." (Tr. Waley, 1935, p. 227: cf. Yamagishi, 1958-63, Vol. I, p. 419.) 926.18.55


源氏花ちる里
日本畫工奥村政信正筆

27

28 Okumura Masanobu. *Genji: Wakana, jō.*
Illustration to the *Wakana* chapter, Part One (Chapter 34), of the *Tale of Genji.*
The poems (T) read:

wakana sasu (for translation *v. infra*)
nobe no komatsu wo
hikitsurete
moto no iwane wo
inoru kyō kana

komatsu-bara
sue no yowai ni
hikarete ya
nobe no wakana mo
toshi wo tsumubeki

The picture below shows Lady Tamakatsura with one of her two young sons performing the *Wakana* ("Spring Shoots") ceremony before Prince Genji.

hosoe, 26.5 x 16.2; hand-coloured in light *sumi*; wormage (C.L); trimmed (T).

Unsigned.

Date: *c.* 1730.

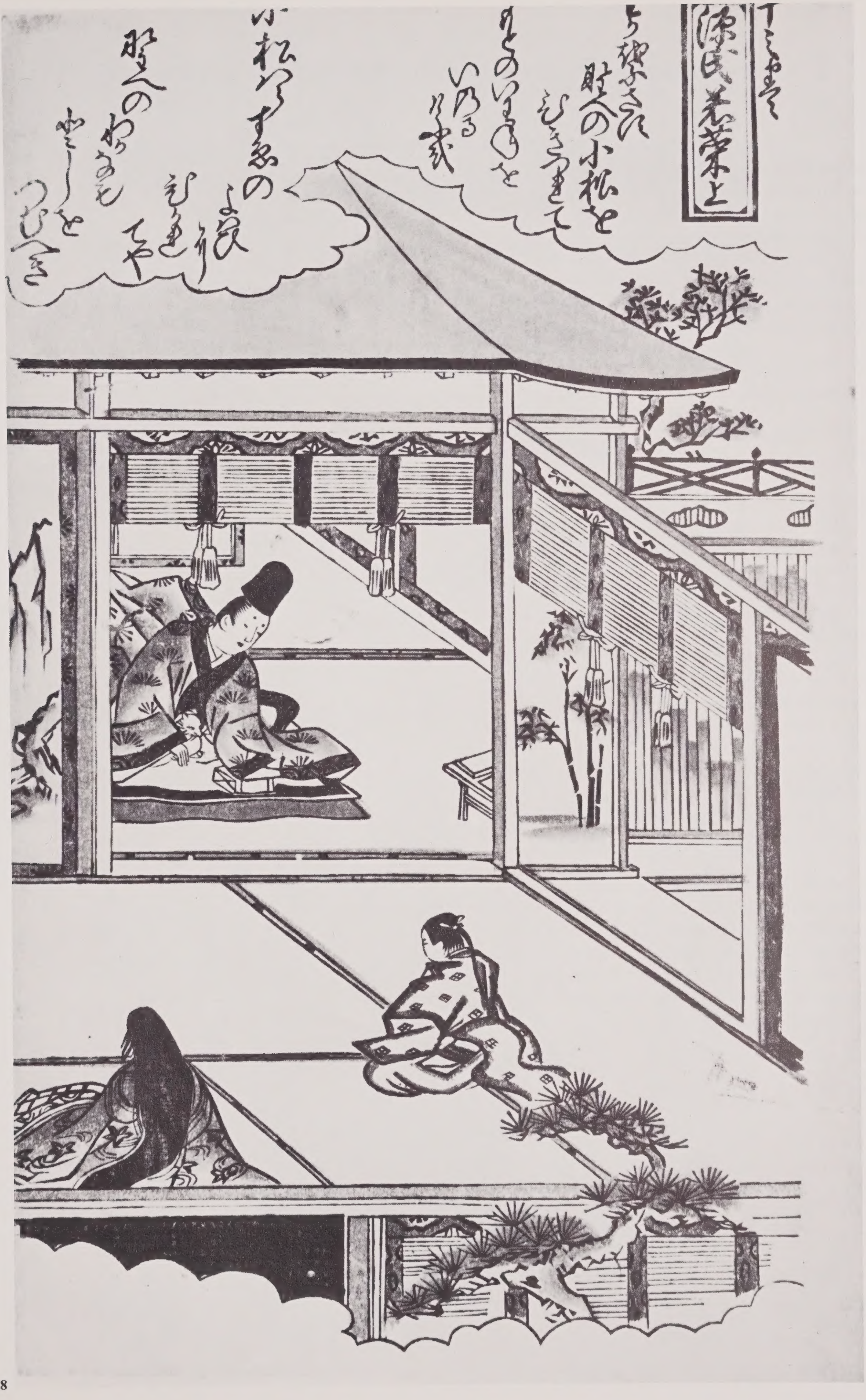
Although this print is unsigned, it undoubtedly belongs to the same series as the previous print, No. 27.

As part of the celebrations for Genji's fortieth birthday, his adopted daughter Tamakatsura comes to see him during the first month of the year to make an offering of spring grasses. There were twelve kinds of these (sometimes abbreviated to seven or five), and the ceremony, which was borrowed from China, is first mentioned in a Japanese source for 924 A.D.

Genji's seat was in the side-room opening out of the great Front Hall. His dais was surrounded by newly-painted screens, and there were fresh white canvas hangings round the walls; but the special stools, tables and stands used in the formal celebration of a fortieth birthday had all been dispensed with . . . The whole affair was very quiet and informal. Tamakatsura had audience with him before he took his place on the birthday throne . . . She had brought with her her two little boys. Genji had often asked to see them, but hitherto she had refused, and on this occasion it was only in obedience to her husband's absolute command that she had brought them to the New Palace. They were handsome little fellows, both dressed exactly alike in miniature Court cloaks and breeches, with their hair parted in the middle and done up in a loop on either side . . .

At the Presentation of the Spring Shoots, which followed a few minutes later, she recited with great dignity and composure the congratulatory poem:

"With these new shoots fetched from the green hillside, young pine-boughs have I brought to crown your fortunes with eternal spring." The young shoots were presented for his inspection on four trays of sandalwood. Taking the great wine flagon in his hand, he recited the answer: "Though loath to pile the years about my head, not lightly shall I quit the field where spring by spring these pines spread wider shade." (Tr. Waley, 1935, pp. 625-26: cf. Yamagishi, 1958-63, Vol. III, pp. 241-43.)
926.18.54


源氏若菜上
わかはさす野への小松をひきつれてもとのいはねをいのるけふ哉
小松はらすゑのよはひにひかれてや野へのわかなもとしをつむへき

28

29 **Okumura Masanobu.** The puppet-master *Tatsumatsu Kōsuke* handling an *oyama-ningyō* (type of female puppet). The stage is set at a tea-house called the *Ōmiya.* Through a sliding door (R), above which we see what may be the name of an adjacent house, *Ise-,* an assistant is watching the master. Above the stage, and partly obscured, are the words *o-ayatsuri,* "puppet show," and *Tatsumatsu Hachi [robē].*

hosoe, 32.9 x 15.7; hand-coloured.

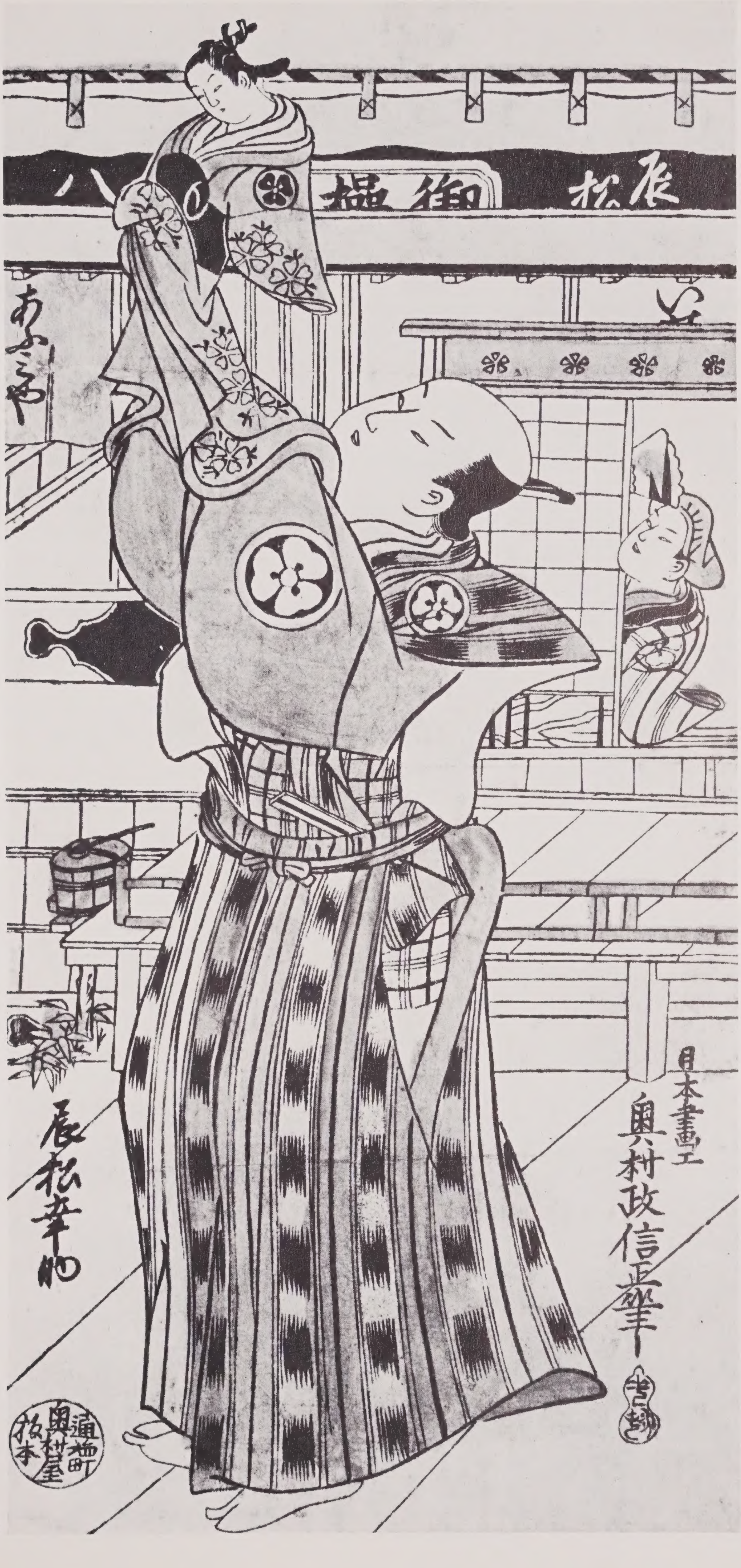
Signature: *Nihon gakō Okumura Masanobu shōhitsu,* seal *Okumura.*

Publisher: *Tōri-shio-chō Okumuraya hanmoto.*

Date: *c.* 1730.

Tatsumatsu Hachirobē was a puppet-master of the Takemoto-za in Ōsaka, who came to Edo in 1719 and started his own theatre, the Tatsumatsu-za (at first in Shinagawa; later on Sakai-chō). He was assisted by his son Kōsuke and by the well-known chanter Toyotake Kuradayū, and together they gave the puppet theatre a new lease of life in Edo at a time when its supremacy was being challenged in the Ōsaka area by the Kabuki. Hachirobē, who was famous for his handling of *oyama-ningyō,* female puppets, and who also made fashionable a men's hair style, the *Tatsumatsu-fū,* with a pointed topknot (as seen on this print of his son), died in 1734. He had many disciples, but Kōsuke succeeded to the title Hachirobē in 1745. Kōsuke, who died in 1750, is also mentioned as author of a play about Yaoya Oshichi (Wakatsuki, 1943, pp. 690, 790; see also EHD).

Masanobu's print was probably done while Kōsuke's father was still alive, and it may have been the right-hand member of a diptych. Einstein (n.d.), Pl. 47, illustrates a print which may be compared with it: it shows two puppeteers with the same *mon,* one of whom is labelled *Tatsumatsu Hachirobē,* and the other of whom is probably Kōsuke. 926.18.61


辰松
御操
八
あふこや
日本畫工
奥村政信正筆
芳月
辰松幸助
通塩町
奥村屋
板本

29

30 Okumura Masanobu. Portrait of Sugawara no Michizane in court robes, seated on a *tatami* mat beneath his favourite plum and pine trees (the *Kōbai-dono* and the *Oimatsu*).

Wide *hashira-e,* 65.8 x 24.9; hand-coloured; some *urushi;* trimmed (B); some air-burning.

Signature: *Hōgetsudō Tanchōsai Okumura Shinmyō Bunkaku Masanobu kinzu.*

Date: middle 1730s.

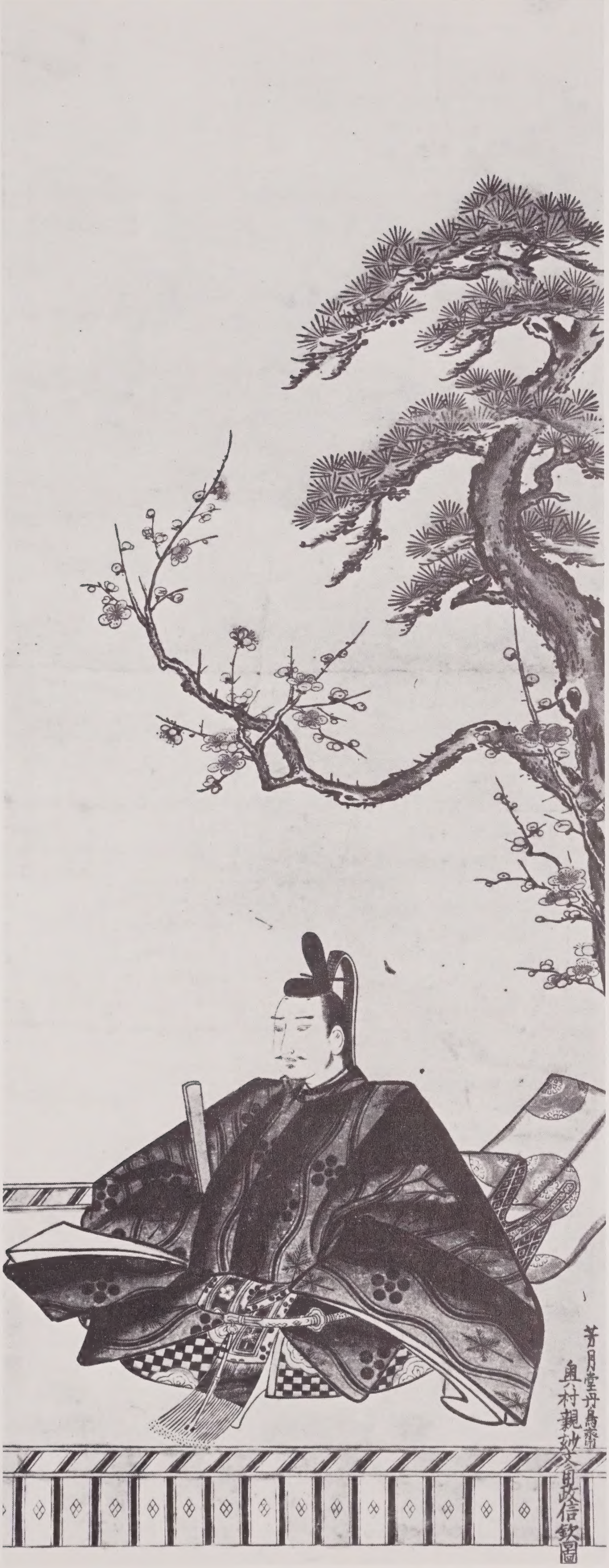
There are other specimens of this print in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.5774: Spaulding coll.) and in the British Museum (1945.10.13.01). Another is illustrated in Salomon (1926), No. 3 and Pl. I. The Walker print has been trimmed at the bottom, with the loss of a seal *Tanchōsai.*

Sugawara no Michizane (845–903) is famous not only for his literary attainments but also for his spectacular political career. As a young man he served the Emperor Uda, and won favour because he acted as a curb on the power of the Fujiwara clan. In 894 he was appointed ambassador to China, but on his return recommended that embassies to that country cease, because of the disturbances accompanying the decline of T'ang power. With the accession of Emperor Daigo (897), Michizane's position was strengthened still more, and in 899 he became Minister of the Right, while Fujiwara no Tokihira was Minister of the Left. Two years later, however, as the result of a slander by Tokihira, he was demoted to Prefect of Dazai-fu, in Kyūshū, and he died in exile there in 903. He wrote much Chinese-language poetry, and edited various works, and in the middle ages was deified as god of literature. There are many legends concerning him, which were gathered together in illustrated handscrolls made for the various shrines dedicated to him. The most famous set of these scrolls is the *Kitano Tenjin Engi* of 1278, but others were produced in the Muromachi period. One of the most familiar stories about him is first seen in the *Gempei seisuiki* (late twelfth century), and forms the subject of a famous if slightly over-rated Nō play, *Oimatsu.* This tells that Michizane, in exile in Kyūshū, was thinking one spring day about his favourite plum tree, which would now be in flower at his palace in the capital. He sadly addressed a poem to it:

Azuma kaze	If the East Wind should
fukaba nioi okose yo	blow, waft your fragrance to me,
ume no hana	Plum Blossom of mine:
aruji nashi to te	though you have no master now,
haru na wasure so	do not forget it is Spring!

The plum tree heard this appeal from afar, lifted itself out by the roots, and flew all the way down to Kyūshū, as an expression of sympathy with the injustice of the punishment meted out to Michizane; and the aged pine tree from the same garden also flew down to join its master, and encourage him to seek fulfilment of his desire to return to the capital. Although Michizane died in exile, his spirit is said to have returned to Kyōto a few years later, to the accompaniment of peals of thunder: see No. 31.

Michizane is depicted by artists in various ways: standing in travelling clothes with a plum branch in his arms; riding an ox; or seated beneath his favourite tree. Kano Motonobu, Sesshū and Kenkō Shōkei are among those who are said to have portrayed him during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In *ukiyoe* the tradition of depicting him seated under his trees may stem from this print by Okumura Masanobu: Boston has designs by both Toyonobu (MFAB: Res.33.179: other specimens illus. Einstein, n.d., Pl. 13, or UTS 4, CPl. 2) and Shunshō (MFAB:17.3211); and a Harunobu print of Michizane is illustrated in Sotheby (1911.1.24), No. 51 and Pl. 2.
926.18.64


芳月堂丹鳥齋
奥村親妙文角政信欽圖

30

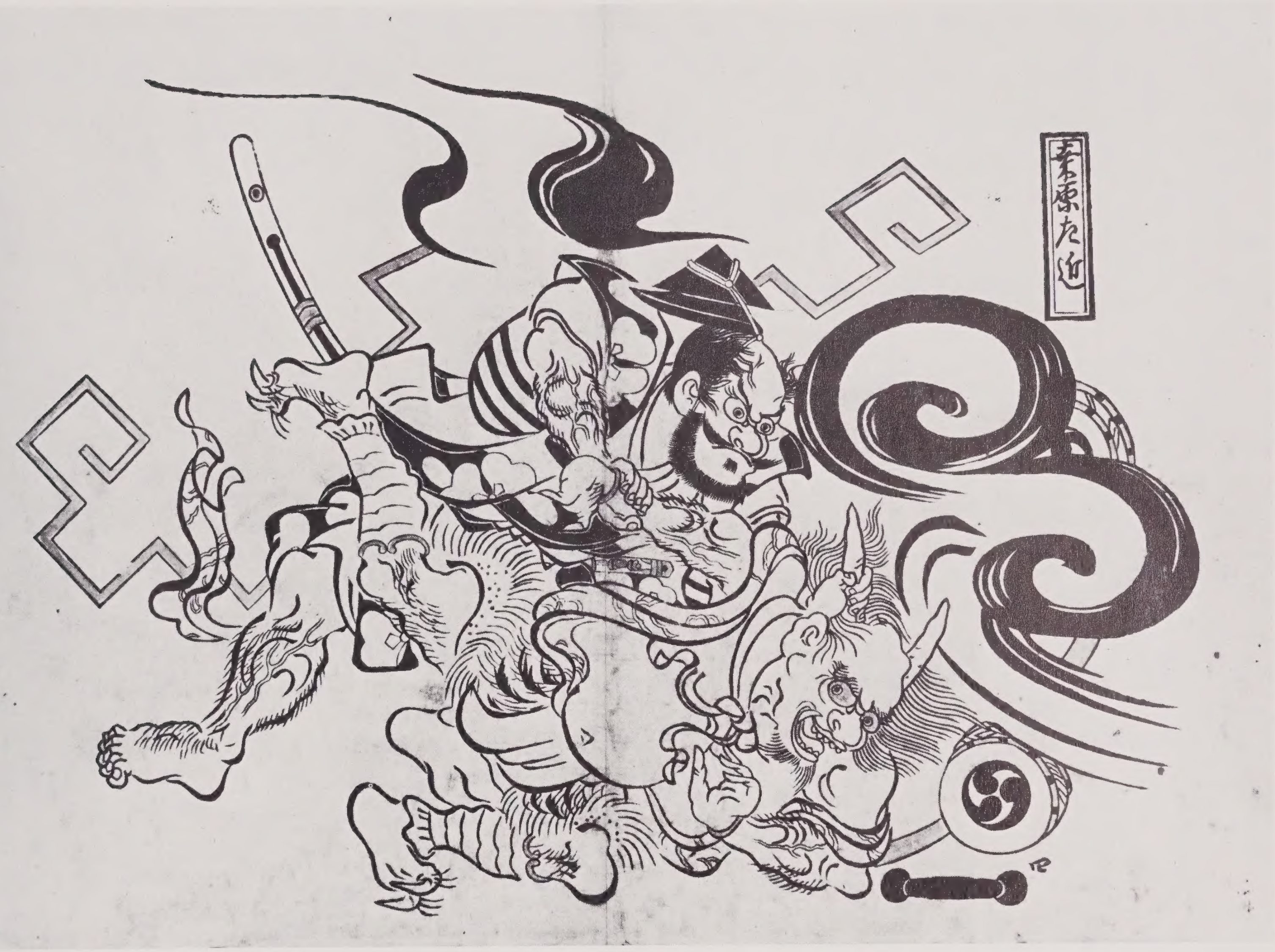
31 **Okumura Masanobu.** *Kuwabara Sakon.* Amid lightning and swirls of smoke he is seen subduing Raiden, the Thunder God, whose tambourine and thunder-bolt lie nearby. No. 4 *(shi)* of a series.

ōban yokoe, 26.9 x 38.5; hand-coloured (yellow only); crease (C).
Date: *c.* 1735.

Shibui (1929) illustrates ten of a presumed set of twelve sheets (Album C), to which he assigns the title *Gōyū zue.* All are of great warriors or heroes, and the last sheet is signed by Masanobu.

When the exiled spirit of Sugawara no Michizane returned to the Capital a few years after his death in 903 (see the notes to No. 30, also by Masanobu), there was a violent thunderstorm. A later development in the legend is related in the *Natsuyama zōdan* (preface dated 1741) by Ono Takanao: "Kuwabara is a domain of Lord Suga. In the great thunderstorm of the year 923, when Lord Suga was restored to office, thunder did not fall once on this Kuwabara. For this reason women and children in the Capital chant 'Kuwabara Kuwabara' when the thunder roars" (quoted in DJ, s.v. *Kuwabara*).

Kuwabara is a region in the south of Kyūshū. In popular belief the invocation (which is still practised) came to be explained in two additional ways. On the one hand, since the name "Kuwabara" means "Plain of Mulberries," it was assumed, quite falsely, that mulberry trees give protection against thunderbolts: though their strong roots *may* provide some security against earthquakes. Alternatively, however, it was said that Kuwabara Chūnagon, "Councillor Kuwabara," was the name of the imperial envoy who went up to Mount Hiei in Kyōto to appease the spirit of Michizane, when he assumed the form of Raiden, the Thunder God. Michizane apparently chose Hiei for his demonstration because his childhood tutor, Hosshōbō, was the Chief Abbot there. *Kuwabara Sakon,* "the Minister Kuwabara," on Masanobu's print must be an alternative name for this official, who is here depicted as a ferocious warrior quelling the Thunder God by force, rather than placating him. The real name of the envoy is unknown. (See Ōmagari, 1955, Vol. I, pp. 532-33.) 926.18.8



31

32 Okumura Masanobu. Interior view of a Yoshiwara tea-house, drawn in perspective. In the alcove at the back of the room are the portraits of three poets, whose poems, the well-known *Sanseki no uta,* "Three Evening Poems," are inscribed on panels in the cornice between the two halves of the room. From right to left, the poems, with the names of the poets, are as follows:

Fujiwara Teika:

miwataseba	When I gaze into
hana mo momiji mo	the distance, no flowers nor red
nakarikeri	leaves are to be seen –
ura no tomaya no	just a thatched hut by the shore,
aki no yūgure	alone in the autumn twilight.

Saigyō Hōshi:

kokoro naki	Unsought by my heart,
mi ni mo aware wa	a troubled awareness has
shirarekeri	entered my body –
shigi tatsu sawa no	by this marsh where snipe start up,
aki no yūgure	alone in the autumn twilight.

Jakuren Hōshi:

sabishisa wa	Solitude here is
sono iro to shi mo	such that I cannot even say
nakarikeri	what colour it is,
maki tatsu yama no	where black firs grow on the hills,
aki no yūgure	alone in the autumn twilight.

At the front of the room we see, from right to left: a seated courtesan studying two large sheets of paper (drawings?); a man standing, while a *kamuro* reads him a letter; and another courtesan playing the *shamisen* while her maid plays the *kokyū,* or three-stringed fiddle. In the background, at the right, are other inmates and a guest of the establishment; and in the distance on both sides the open wall-panels give a glimpse of verandahs and a garden.

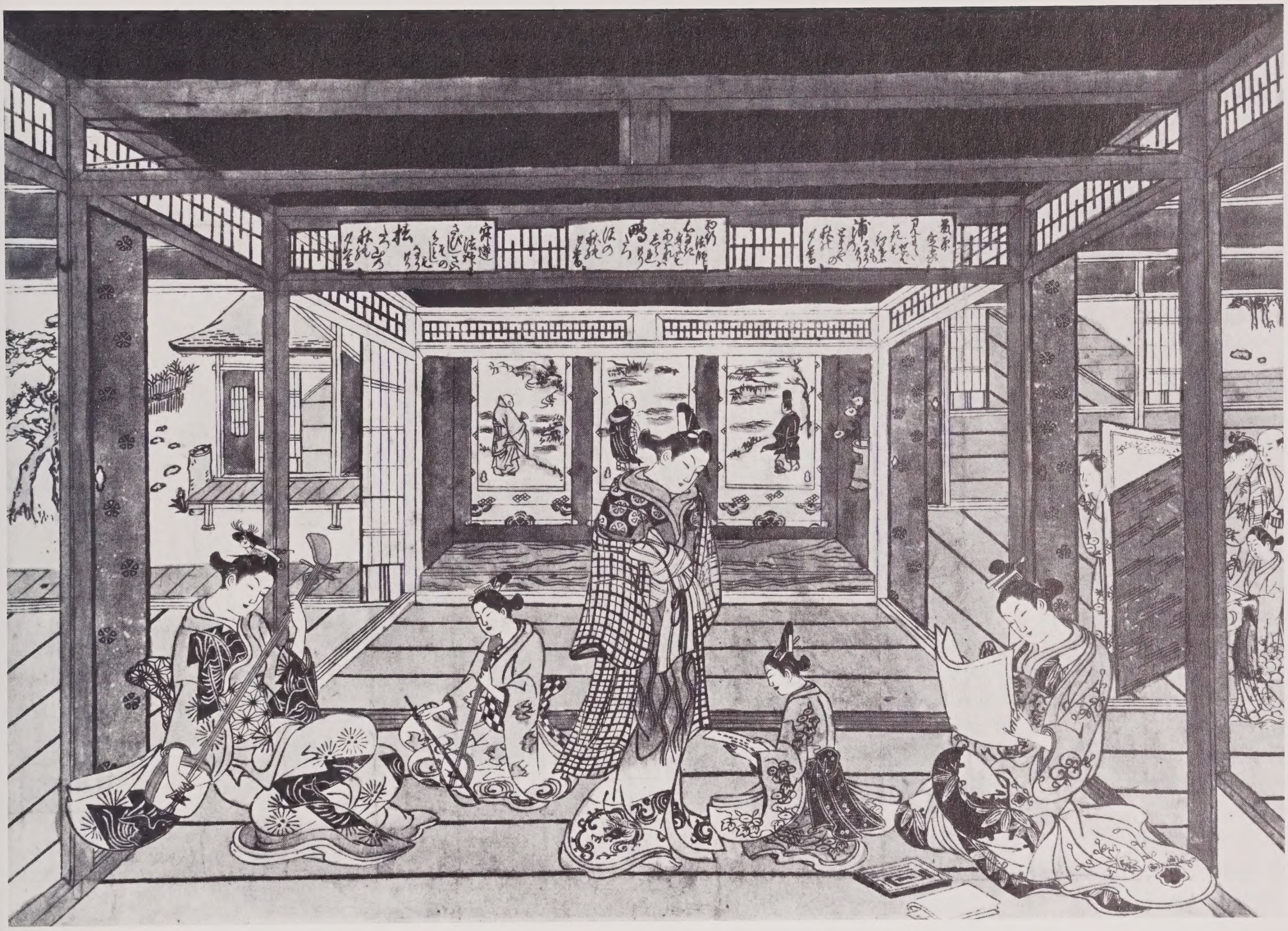
yokoe, 29.2 x 41.7; hand-coloured; trimmed (R,L).
Date: *c.* 1740.

This specimen: Waterhouse (1970), Pl. 3. There is another specimen of this print in Boston (MFAB: 11.13344), with inscription panels down each side. These give the following information. On the right is the title of the print: *Ukie sanseki sanbukutsui,* "Perspective Triptych of the 'Three Evenings' "; and the publisher's address and credentials: *benizuri narabi ni ukie hanmoto shōmei. Tōri-shio-chō akaki hyōtan no shirushi Okumuraya Genroku hanmoto,* "Published by Okumuraya Genroku at the sign of the Red Gourd in Tōri-shio-chō, the only legitimate publisher of *benizuri-e* [that is, the early colour prints] and of *ukie.*" (This is an early occurrence of the term *benizuri,* and it is unfortunate that the print cannot be dated to the precise year. One theory has it that Okumura Genroku was Masanobu's son, employed by his father to manage the family publishing house after about 1735: but this, and the date suggested, is still only speculation. Cf. No. 26.) On the left is a warning to purchasers of prints: *watakushikata <no> e shita ni magirawashiki meihitsu wo tsuke, nise-rui jūban horidashi-sōrō oshirase-mōshi-sōrō. Shōmei Hōgetsudō Okumura Bunkaku Masanobu shōhitsu o <. . .> mōshi-sōrō,* "We beg to inform you that fake reprints of our prints have been engraved and published, with deceptive signatures at the bottom. We beg [to inform you] that our correct signature reads 'Genuine brushwork of Hōgetsudō Okumura Bunkaku Masanobu'." Masanobu more than once inveighed against his imitators, but this an unusually elaborate instance.

The Walker print was formerly in the Ficke collection (see Ficke, 1920, No. 40 and Pl.). Ficke, who correctly attributed it to Masanobu, wrote: "The picture is pervaded by that warmth and graciousness of feeling so characteristic of Masanobu; the three principal figures are drawn in his finest manner." He entitled the print, with charming inaccuracy, "The Diversions of a Young Man."

The *sanseki no uta* are three consecutive poems from the *Shin Kokinshū* (Book IV, Nos. 361-63: KT, p. 178), and seem to have been well known in the eighteenth century. (For an example by Harunobu, and for further information, see No. 70 in this catalogue.) There is also a *hosoe* two-colour triptych by Okumura Masanobu entitled *Yoshiwara keisei sanseki,* "The 'Three Evenings' Portrayed by Yoshiwara Prostitutes," of which the centre sheet is in Boston (MFAB: 11.13195) and the "left-hand" (actually the *right-hand*) sheet is in the Art Institute of Chicago (Gunsaulus, 1955, p. 172, No. 114). In this triptych, which is presumably a little later than the hand-coloured print, the foreground figures and the paintings in the alcove at the rear are the same as in the Walker print, and the three poems too are quoted. There is no reason to think, however, that Masanobu had scruples about borrowing from himself, and therefore no reason to doubt the genuineness of this other design.

The scene on the Walker print is probably one of the tea-houses in Naka-no-chō, some of which had gardens behind. The two seated courtesans are apparently waiting for clients who do not appear; and, in view of his effeminate dress, the man may be a similarly jilted male courtesan. 926.18.57



32

33 Okumura Masanobu. A young couple in ceremonial robes, and of doll-like stature, stand on either side of a tree composed mainly of pink sake cups. They are holding ritually purified ingredients for *toso,* the medicated rice wine drunk at New Year: she has a ladle full of wine, he has strips of dried seaweed in triangular paper wrappings. The whole composition is set on a three-legged Chinese table, inlaid with a design of New Year grasses. The poem reads:

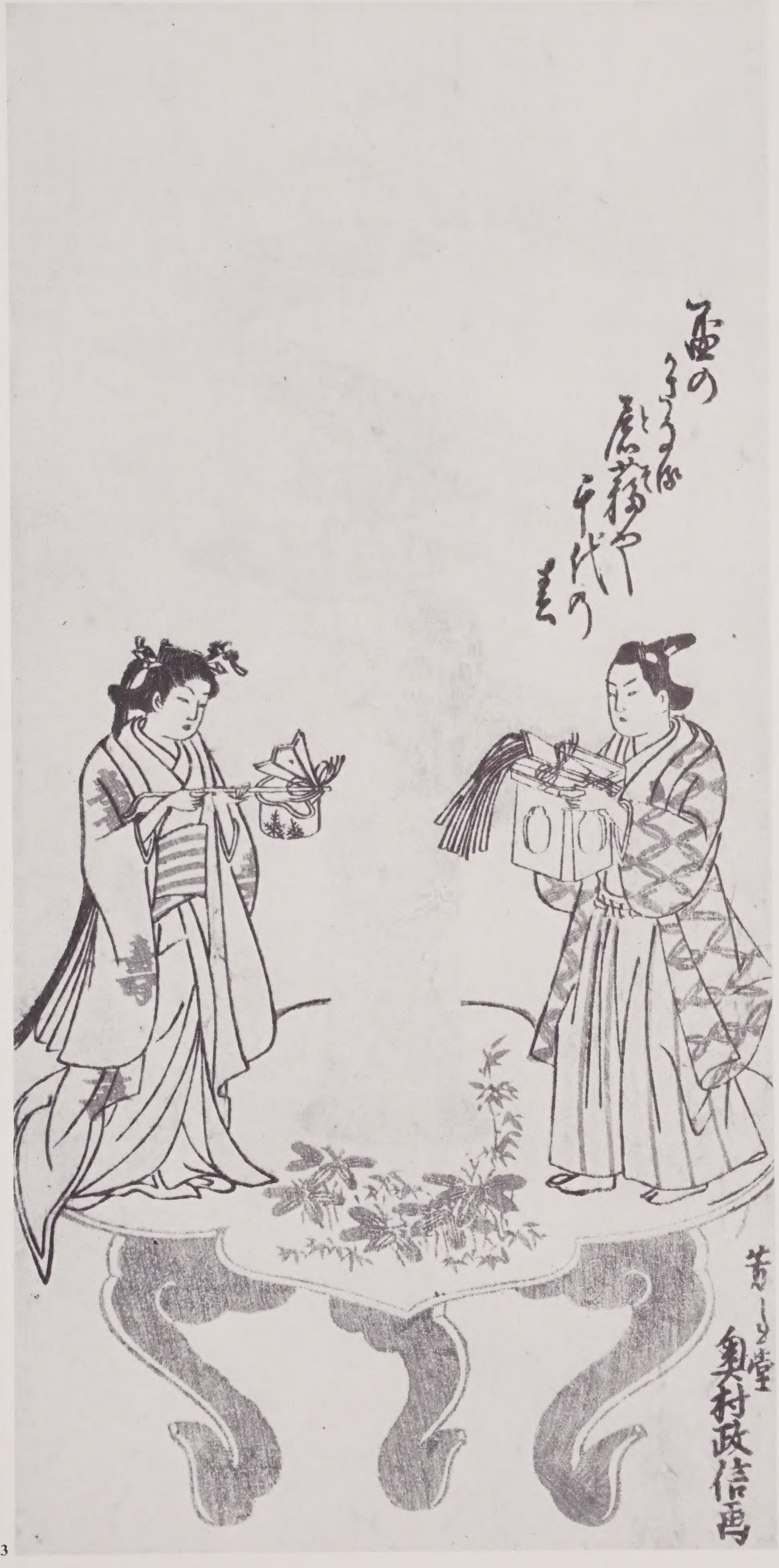
sakazuki no	See the mulled *sake,*
kasanaru toso ya	where the wine-cups are piled high –
chiyo no haru	guarantee of a thousand springs!

The girl's robe bears the character *ju,* "Long life"; and the trunk of the "*sake* tree" bears a stork design, also for longevity.

hosoe, 30.3 x 14.6; 2 colour blocks (pink, green); trimmed (B).
Signature: *Hōgetsudō Okumura Masanobu ga,* seals *Tanchōsai* and *Masanobu,* in pink.
Date: 1742(?).

Toso is a mixture of *sake* with various spices, which was drunk with some ceremony on the first morning of the year, and was said to ward off evil influences for the coming year. It is first mentioned in Japan as having been used at the court of Emperor Saga in 811, and is supposed to derive from the recommendations of the early T'ang physician Sun Ssŭ-miao (*v.* Nishitsunoi, 1958; SDHJ). According to Prof. E.H. Schafer, "This dedicated and unusual man wrote commentaries on *Lao tzu* and *Chuang tzu;* a collection of remedies in three hundred scrolls called *Ch'ien chin fang,* 'Recipes Worth a Thousand Metal Coins'; the first Chinese treatise on ophthalmology; and many other books. He advocated the employment of mineral drugs, anticipating the iatrochemists of Europe. He left a will asking for a cheap funeral without sacrificial animals or buried figurines, and was ultimately deified in the temples of medicine" (Schafer, 1963, p. 177). However, the composition of *toso* seems to have varied at different dates, and its use in China too may antedate Sun Ssŭ-miao.

Masanobu's print is a New Year greeting. *Toso* was normally drunk out of pink wine-cups, which were stacked in a pile: and their peculiar arrangement here, like the branches and foliage of a tree, may be a pictorial pun on the name of the *sakaki,* or sacred Japanese cedar, whose etymology might be understood fancifully as *saka-ki,* or "*sake* tree." Roger Keyes has further suggested to me that the sequence of *sake* cups can be read as giving the sequence of long and short months for 1742. Thus, from the top, the first, third, sixth, eighth, tenth and twelfth cups are large; the remainder are small. If he is right, this print would be the earliest dated *benizuri-e.* 926.18.50


盃の
きそふは
唐藤や
千代の
春
芳月堂
奥村政信画

33

34 Okumura Masanobu. Two brothers contending for a large doll of Ichikawa Danjūrō II. They are dressed in their best clothes, with their hair tied up, for the Boys' Festival. The elder boy is standing on a *go* board. The poem reads:

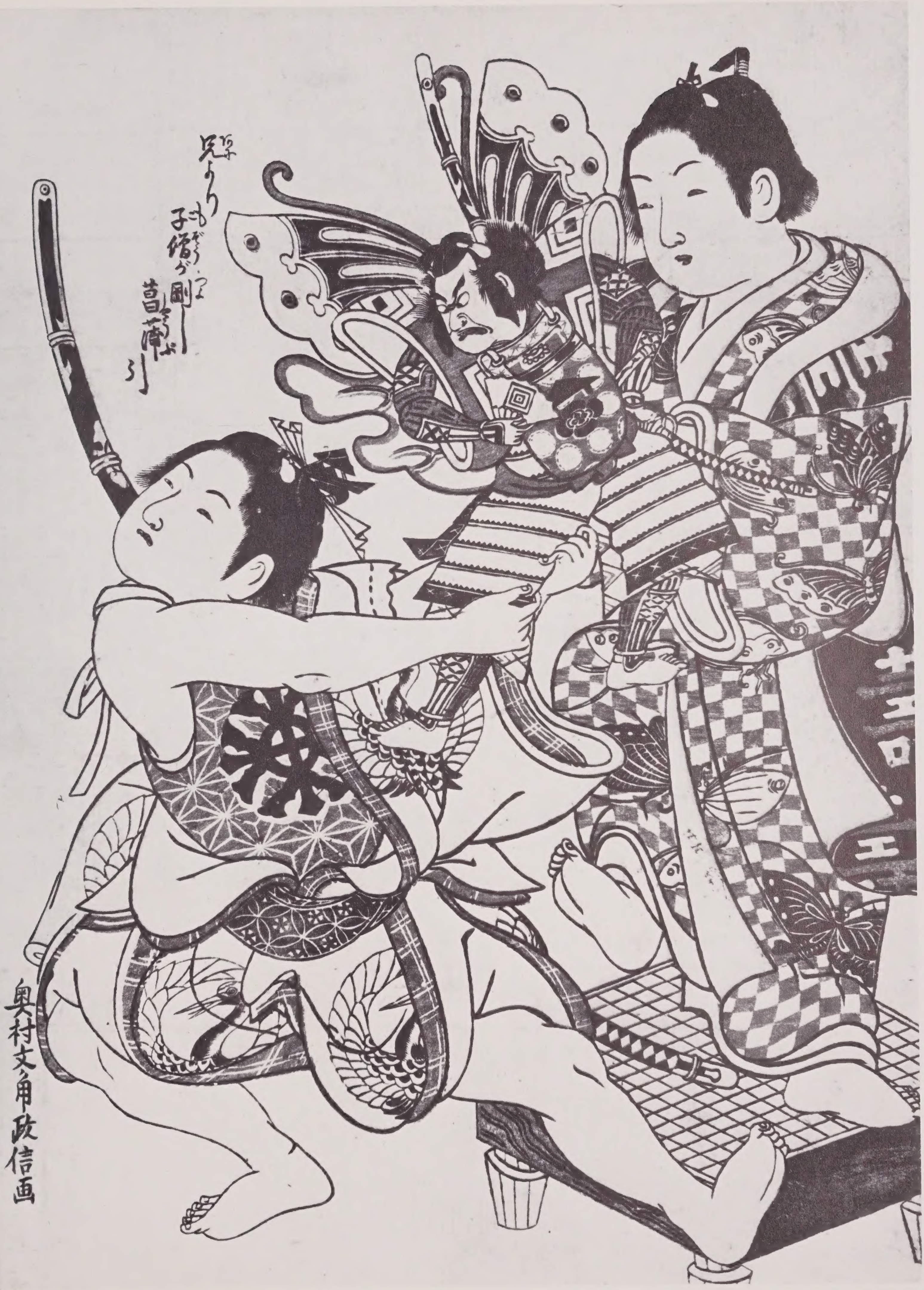
ani yori mo	The little stripling is
kozō ga tsuyoshi	stronger than his big brother
shōbu hiki	when pulling at the irises!

ōban, 36.9 x 26.7; 2 colour blocks (pink, green).
Signature: *Okumura Bunkaku Masanobu ga,* seal *Tanchōsai* (in pink).
Date: *c.* 1745.

The Tango festival, on the fifth day of the fifth month, goes back to the eighth century, and derives in all essentials from ancient Chinese practice. The customs associated with it were originally intended to banish diseases and to avert fire and other misfortune from the house. Thus, on this day people would gather medicinal plants from the fields, drink wine steeped in iris flowers, and take lotus-flower baths; dolls were made of mugwort (Jap. *yomogi*) and hung in the house, and both iris and mugwort were placed at the doorway. Another plant associated with the day was the Pride of India (Jap. *ōchi*); and rice-dumplings wrapped in bamboo leaves (Jap. *chimaki*) were also used – originally as a Buddhist offering for the souls of the dead.

Nishitsunoi (1958), whose account has here been much condensed, also notes a native contribution: the fifth month was a time to purify the heart when planting rice fields, to restrain sexual desires and to worship the gods. Hence, even as late as Chikamatsu's time, the day was called *onna no ie,* when women were confined to the house. It was also a time when young people received some of the responsibilities of adulthood, and in the middle ages it developed all manner of military associations, and came to be thought of as the Boys' Festival, in contrast to the Dolls' Festival *(hina-matsuri)* , on the third day of the third month, which was for girls; and in the Tokugawa period both of these were among the *Go-sekku,* the Five Festivals of the year. (For the Chōyō festival, cf. No. 82; and for another Tango print, cf. No. 115.)

Masanobu's fine print (of which I have not traced other examples) contains an additional allusion: it is also a *mitate* of the *kusazuribiki* ("armour-skirt pulling") scene from the Soga Brothers play, *Wada sakamori no en,* "Wada's Wine-Feast," in which the strong-man Asahina Saburō pulls off the hip-plate of Soga Gorō's armour. This was a celebrated rôle of actors in the Ichikawa Danjūrō line, and it is interesting to note the existence of another and earlier parody of this scene by Okumura Masanobu, of which there is a specimen in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (46-66-13). This is a perspective interior, showing courtesans and guests at a tea-house acting out rôles from the play. 926.18.60


兄よりも
子僧が剛し
菖蒲引
奥村文角政信画

4

Shigenaga

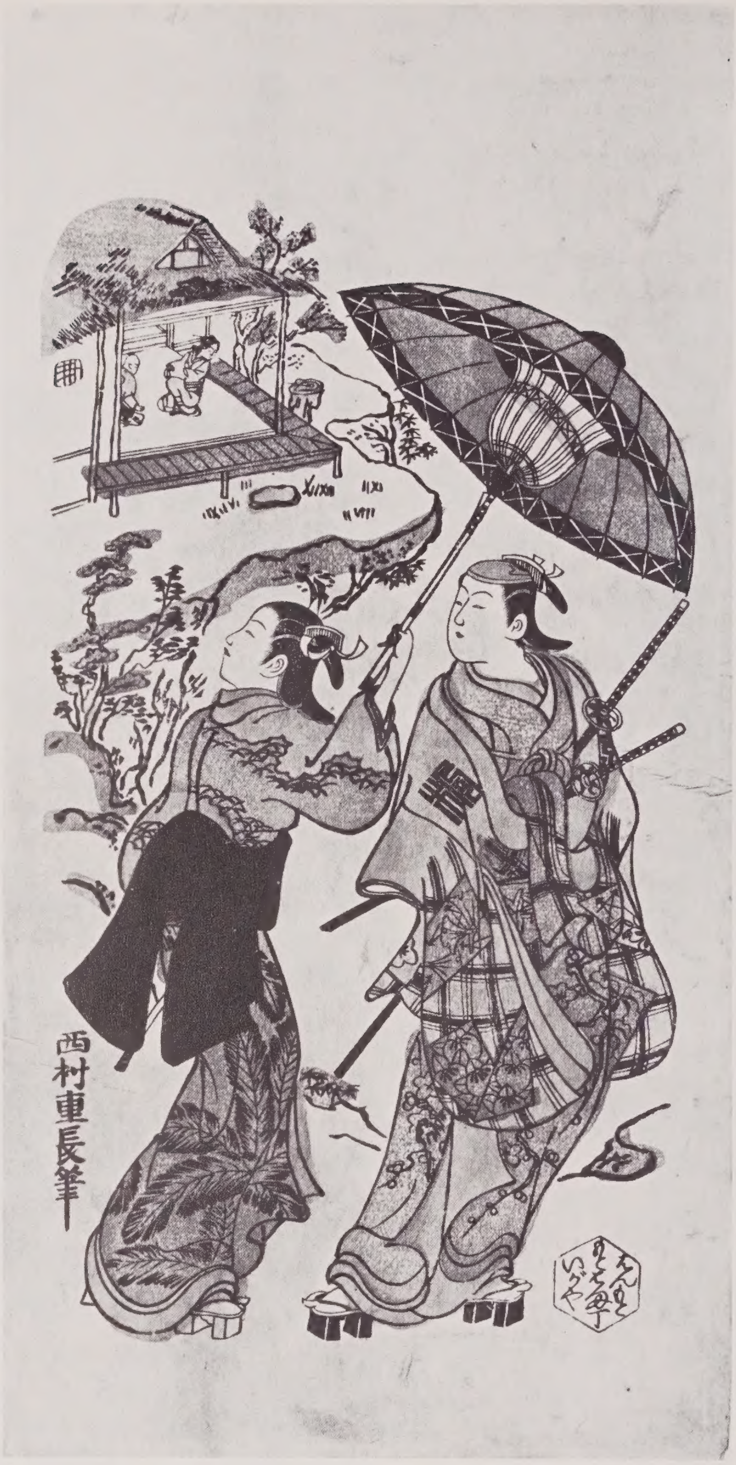
35 **Shigenaga.** The actor Hayama Ugenda as Fujiwara no Karyū, attended by Imagawa Heijūrō as a servant girl holding a parasol. They are looking back at the Ogura no sansō, the retreat on Mt. Ogura near Kyōto, where Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241) is supposed to have compiled the *Hyakunin isshu* anthology. Fastened to the thatch of the cottage is a board of irregular shape, inscribed with the name *Ogurayama;* and inside we see seated a monk and a girl, who is looking out towards the visitors.

hosoe, 35.1 x 17.6; hand-coloured.
Signature: *Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu.*
Publisher: *Hanmoto Motohama-chō Igaya.*
Date: 1719(?).

There is another specimen in the Art Institute of Chicago (Gunsaulus, 1955, p. 188, No. 1); and the print is also illustrated in the manuscript catalogue of the Cooper collection (Cooper, 1938, No. 21 and Pl.).

In identifying the actors on this print I have followed Miss Gunsaulus, who connects it with a performance at the Ichimura-za in 1719. As she observes, this would make it "one of the earliest of Shigenaga's prints to be published": but it has to be said that the evidence is inconclusive, and the reference to her source, the *Yakusha sōyakuzu* (3 vols., 1720) is garbled. More important, she does not discuss the relationship of Shigenaga's print to a well-known painting on silk of the same subject, by Okumura Masanobu, which is in the Tokyo National Museum (see, for example, UTS 2, Pl. 11; Noguchi, 1933, Pl. 66). This painting shows the same two foreground figures, but facing in the opposite direction, and with entirely different *mon;* and, in the Ogura no sansō, the seated monk is revealed as playing the *shamisen,* while his companion appears to be a man.

Nishimura Shigenaga (d. 1756?) took many of his ideas from Okumura Masanobu, but rarely inspires his prints with as much life. He may have been a book dealer, and the fact that he produced a steady trickle of prints over some thirty years for a variety of publishers can be interpreted as showing he had another source of income.
926.18.81



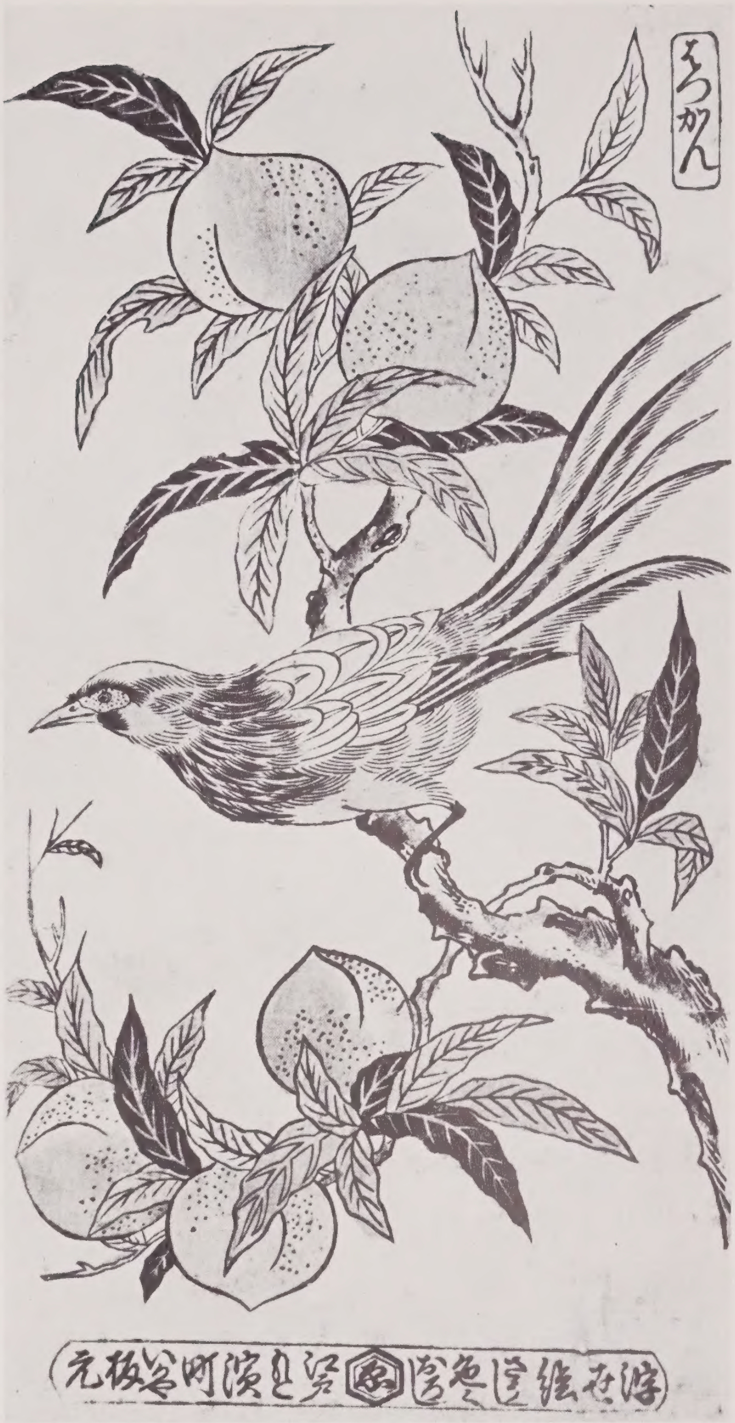
35

36 **Shigenaga** (attr.). *Hakkan,* “Silver Pheasant.”
A pet pheasant perching on a peach tree with fruit.

hosoe, 31.0 x 15.6; hand-coloured; paper creased (B).
Unsigned.
Publisher: *Ukiyoe sōshi iro-iro oroshi, Edo Motohama-chō Igaya hanmoto,* with trademark of Igaya.
Date: *c.* 1725.

There is another specimen of this print (trimmed (B) and lacking the publisher’s imprint) in the Art Institute of Chicago. It has been reasonably attributed by Miss Gunsaulus (1955, p. 190, No. 11 and Pl.) to Shigenaga, but it should be pointed out that other artists of the period, such as Kiyonobu II, were working for Igaya, and that other, lesser-known men did prints of birds and flowers – often basing them on prints by Okumura Masanobu or on the plates in illustrated books. The late Robert Paine has provided an excellent discussion (1963a) of these Chinese-inspired designs and of the problems of dating them. He indicates Shigenaga’s dependence on Masanobu, concluding “Birds by Shigenaga fit best in a dating between 1725 and 1727, while those by his pupil Magosaburō [i.e. Shigenobu] follow in the early 1730’s.” It is also worth pointing to the existence of a fine hand-coloured *hosoe* of a *golden* pheasant *(kinkei)* perched on a branch, signed *Torii Kiyomasu shōhitsu* [Kiyomasu II], publisher’s mark *Mura,* in the Philadelphia Museum (45.74.1).

The *hakkan,* or silver pheasant, was originally imported from China as a table bird, but became popular as an aristocratic family pet in the Edo period. 926.18.32



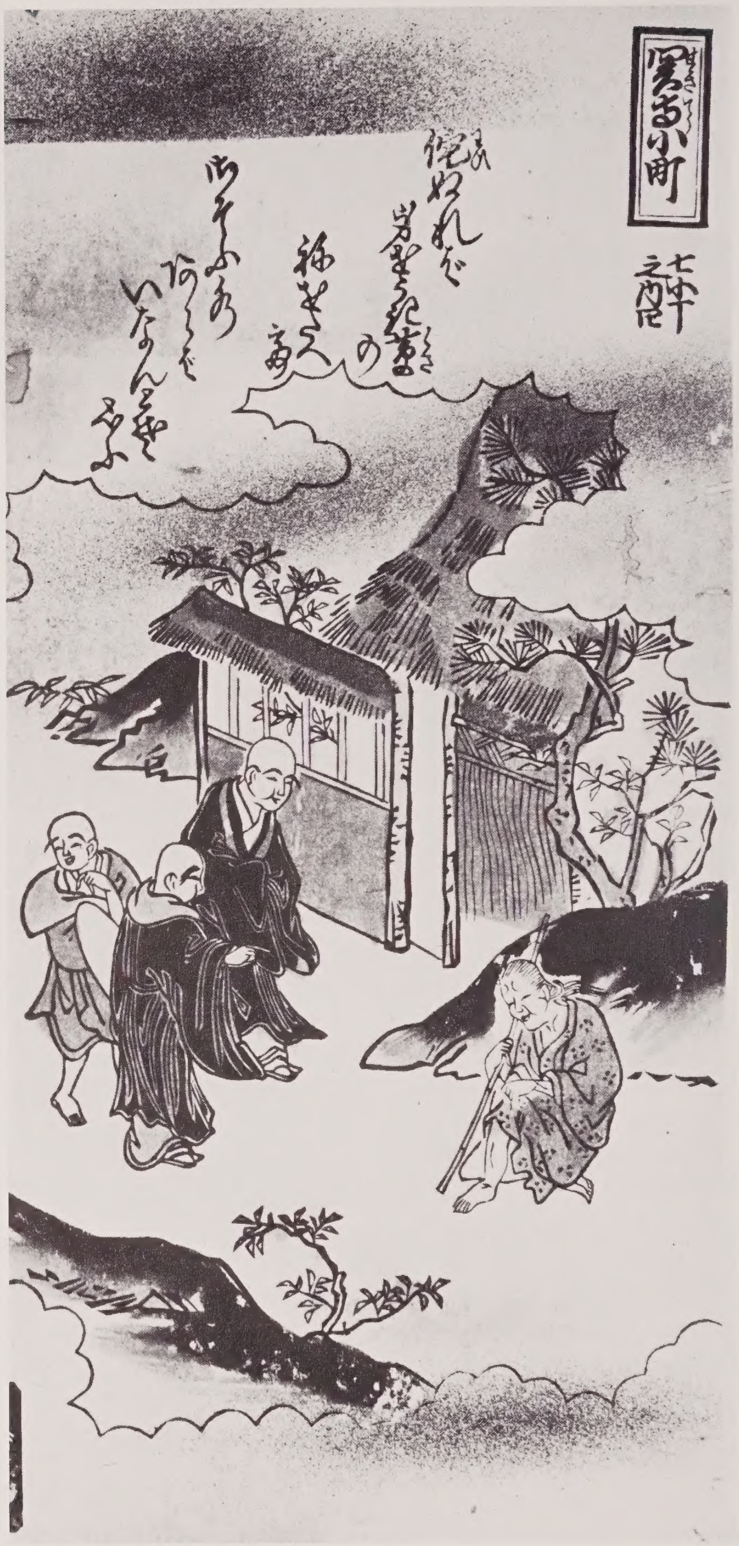
36

37 **Shigenaga** (attr.). *Sekidera Komachi,* “Komachi at Sekidera,” No. 4 from a set *Nana Komachi,* “Seven Komachi.” The Abbot of Sekidera and two other monks visiting Komachi in her old age at her retreat, at the time of the Tanabata festival in the seventh month. The poem (T) is the same as on No. 13 by Kiyomasu II.

hosoe, 29.1 x 14.0; hand-coloured, with *urushi*, metallic dusting and *fuki bokashi* technique; trimmed and wormage (L).
Unsigned.
Publisher: *Sagami-ya.*
Date: *c.* 1730.

Another of the set: No. 38 in this catalogue. I have not discovered others: but Boston has *Kayoi Komachi* by Shigenaga from what appears to be a separate set (MFAB: 21.5876 [Spaulding 4-4]).

For the *Sekidera Komachi* story, cf. No. 13; also Waterhouse (1964), pp. 298-99. 926.18.77



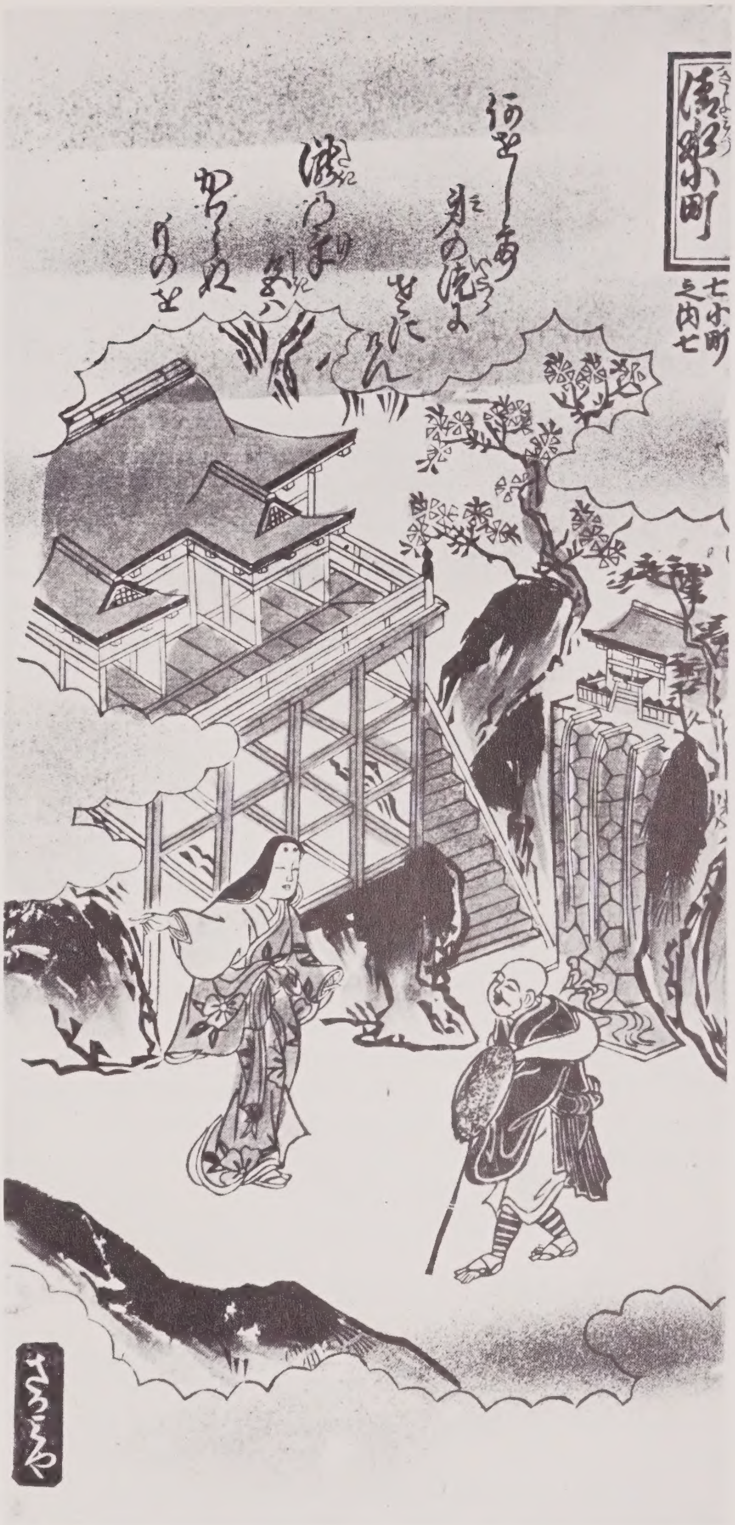
37

38 **Shigenaga** (attr.). *Kiyomizu Komachi,* "Komachi and the Kiyomizu Monastery," No. 7 from a set *Nana Komachi,* "Seven Komachi." A travelling monk is shown meeting Ono no Komachi at the Kiyomizudera in Kyōto. We see the main hall of the monastery, built out on the mountainside on stilts, and the waterfall for which it is famous, the Otowa-no-taki. It is spring. A poem (T) reads:

nani wo shite	Despite all I do,
mi wo itazura ni	it is of no avail – my
oiniken	body has grown old:
taki no keshiki wa	while the waterfall remains
kawaranu mono wo	unchanged in its appearance.

hosoe, 29.8 x 14.5; hand-coloured, with *urushi,* metallic dusting and *fukibokashi* technique; trimmed (R), wormage (BL).
Unsigned.
Publisher: *Sagamiya.*
Date: *c.* 1730.

Another of the set: No. 37 in this catalogue.
The poem on this print, which is a variation on a famous one in the *Kokinshū* by an anonymous poet, is not by Komachi, and not classical: but it is quoted by Harunobu, for example, on his *Kiyomizu Komachi* prints, and it may derive from the lost Nō play of that name. In that play, a travelling monk visits Kiyomizudera, and notices among the *ema* votive paintings for which the monastery is famous one with a poem written by Komachi in her old age – probably this very one. Eventually he meets Komachi, and hears about the pilgrimage of Narihira to Tamatsushima. 926.18.76


清水小町
七小町之内七
さがみや

38

39 **Shigenaga.** *Mii no banshō,* "The Evening Bell at Mii": No. 4 from a set of Eight Views of Ōmi. The poem (T) reads:

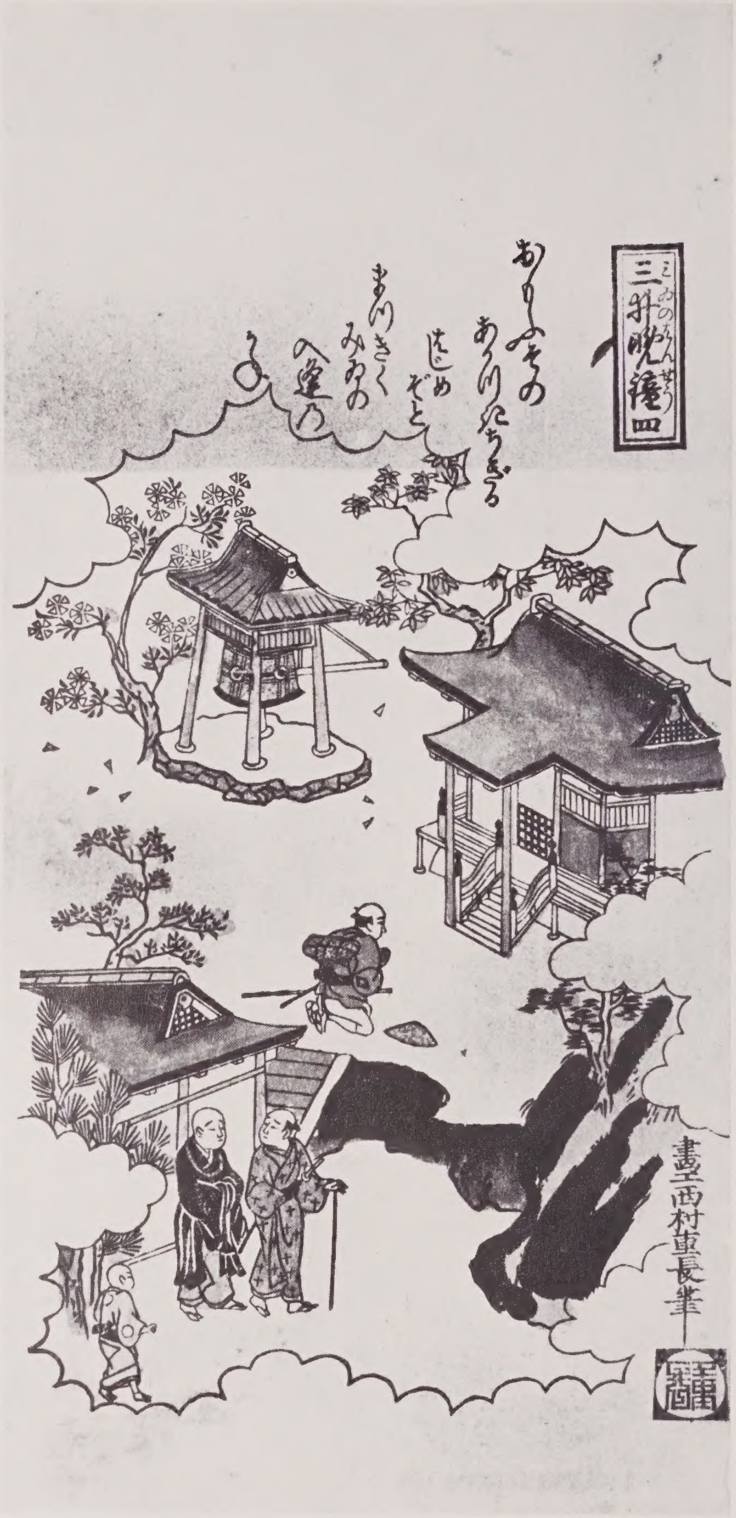
omou sono	They are thinking that
akatsuki chigiru	it is a first promise of
hajime zo to	the dawn that will come:
matsu kiku Mii no	patient pine trees listening to
iriai no kane	the vespers bell at Mii.

hosoe, 33.6 x 15.7; hand-coloured, using *fukibokashi,* some *urushi,* metallic dusting.

Signature: *Gakō Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu,* seal *Shigenaga.*

Date: *c.* 1730.

Another specimen (with different hand-colouring): Sotheby (1916.11.29), No 19 and Pl. II (Hilditch collection). This sale included seven out of the eight prints in the set, all signed *Nishimura Shigenaga.* For "Mii no banshō" from another *Ōmi hakkei* set which may be attributed to Shigenaga, cf. Einstein (n.d.), Pl. 11. Also compare a Kiyomasu version in the Victoria and Albert Museum, illustrated by Ruffy (1952), Pl. 5, and an Okumura Masanobu set, illustrated in *Ukiyoe Geijutsu* IV, 4 (April, 1935). The Walker collection also contains No. 7 of the Shigenaga set *(Katata no rakugan),* in inferior condition, but bearing the publisher's seal *Masuya.*
926.18.75


三井晩鐘 四
畫工西村重長筆

39

40 Shigenaga. No. 13 *(Dai jūsan-ban)* from a series of fifty-four illustrations to the *Tale of Genji (Genji gojūyon-mai no uchi).* Under the appropriate *Genji-mon* and the short title *Genji,* is the title of the chapter, *Akashi,* followed by a poem written across the top of the fan design:

aki no yo no (for translation *v. infra)*
tsukige no koma yo
ware kouru
kumoi wo kakere
toki no ma mo mimu

The picture below shows Genji, with a boatman and two attendants, sailing across the bay to Akashi.

yokoe, 16.7 x 30.4; hand-coloured with some *urushi,* metallic dusting; floral surround design printed in reserve with *fukibokashi;* excellent condition.

Signature: *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu,* seal *Shige.*

Publisher: *Gosho haribako-e: beni saishiki ukiyo sugata-e shidashi kongen rui nashi hanmoto/esōshi toiya, Asakusa Mitsuke-mae Dōbō-machi, Izumiya Gonshirō,* with jar-shaped trademark of Izumiya: "High-Class Pictures for the Sewing Box: Izumiya Gonshirō, of Dōbōmachi, at the approach to Asakusa, wholesale dealer in illustrated stories, and sole publisher and originator of pink-coloured figure prints of the Floating World."

Date: *c.* 1735.

Another specimen (trimmed): Scheiwe (1957), Pl. 17.

This print belongs to a series which presumably contained fifty-four designs, one for each chapter of the *Tale of Genji.* Yoshida Teruji, in his article on the set in *Ukiyoe jiten* (1965), Vol. I, p. 344, implies that the whole was done by Shigenaga; but in view of the designs by Kiyomasu II listed below from the Walker and other collections, it is much more likely that Shigenaga illustrated the first twenty-six chapters, and that the remaining twenty-eight were done by Kiyomasu II. The present writer knows of the following prints from the set:

Chapter	
1	*Kiritsubo.* Signed *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu* (MFAB: 11.19127)
2	*Hahakigi.* Signed *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu* (MFAB: 11.19131)
3	*Utsusemi.* Signed *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu* (MFAB: 11.19130)
9	*Aoi.* Signed *Eshi Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu* (MFAB: 11.19129)
13	*Akashi.* Signed *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu* (ROM: 926.18.78; Scheiwe, 1957, Pl. 17)
14	*Miotsukushi.* Signed *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu* (ROM: 926.18.79)
15	*Yomogyū.* Signed *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu* (AIC: Gunsaulus, 1955, p. 191; Scheiwe, 1957, Pl. 18)
16	*Sekiya.* Signed *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu* (MFAB: 11.19133; Scheiwe 1957, Pl. 19)
17	*E-awase.* Signed *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga* (ROM: 926.18.80)
18	*Matsukaze.* Signed *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga* (MFAB: 11.19132)
19	*Usugumo.* Signed *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu* (MFAB: 11.19128)
20	*Asagao.* Signed *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga* (Yamato Bunkakan, 1968)
21	*Otome.* Signed *Eshi Nishimura* (MFAB: 11.19141)
22	*Tamakazura.* Signed *Eshi Nishimura* (MFAB: 11.19140)
26	*Tokonatsu.* Signed *Eshi Nishimura* (Yoshida, 1965, Vol. I, p. 344; Yamato Bunkakan, 1968)
27	*Kagaribi.* Signed *Eshi Torii Kiyomasu hitsu* (MFAB: 11.13324)
29	*Miyuki.* Signed *Eshi Torii Kiyomasu hitsu* (ROM: 926.18.4)
39	*Yūgiri.* Signed *Eshi Torii Kiyomasu* (PMA: 31.54.85; Scheiwe, 1957, Pl. 20)
47	*Agemaki.* Signed *Torii Kiyomasu hitsu* (ROM: 926.18.3).

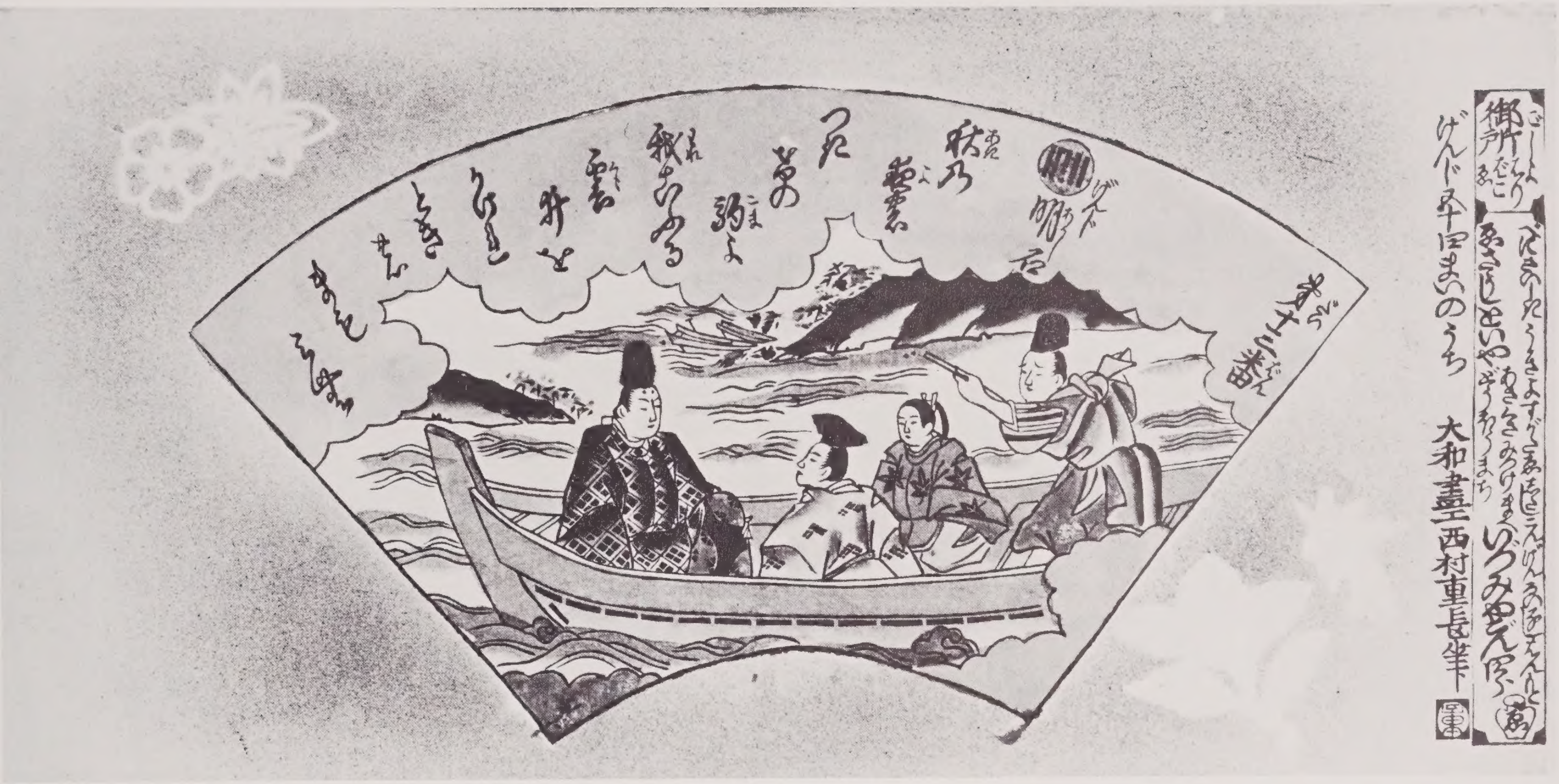
Both the artist's signature and the publisher's advertisement tend to become more abbreviated as the series proceeds; and the surround to Chapter 47 lacks any design in reserve. Izumiya Gonshirō and Okumura Masanobu were business rivals in the publishing of *benie,* and it is quite likely that these Genji prints were done in order to promote sales of the Izumiya *benie.* As we learn from the advertisements on others of the set (see No. 9 in this catalogue), they were intended not only to decorate the top of milady's sewing box, but also to be pasted on *fusuma* or on screens. The fashion for pasting fans on screens goes back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, and there were two types: *senmen harimaze,* in which the arrangement of the fans was regular; and *senmen chirashi,* in which it was irregular. Fans have a high mortality rate, and the excellent condition of the Shigenaga and Kiyomasu fan prints in the Walker collection (and in Boston) must be because collectors have kept them separately in an album. Kiyomasu's contributions to the set seem to be rarer than Shigenaga's: which means either that the edition became progressively smaller (as with the serial encyclopaedias of the present day), or that he never finished the set. All five prints catalogued here have been dated "*c.* 1735": but it is likely that the set appeared over a period of two or three years. For a fan print by Kiyomasu II from a set of "Six Crystal Rivers" (published by Igaya), cf. UZ 1, Fig. 104. There are also fan-shaped prints by Kiyoharu (e.g. BM: 1926. 5.11.010,011).

Each of the Genji prints has a fan-shaped design, either the ordinary or a kidney shape, with a scene from the appropriate chapter of the novel, the title of the chapter and a poem from it. There is also the *Genji-mon* corresponding to each chapter. *Genji-mon,* which are often seen in *ukiyoe,* consist of five long or short vertical strokes, which may be connected at the top by cross-bars. They were originally used for keeping the score in the incense-game *(kō-awase):* a player would burn a series of five incense sticks which he considered to match the mood of a group of five poems or parts of poems, and his opponent would mark five vertical strokes on the score-sheet, from right to left, joining the tops of the lines when he thought the incense used was the same. The *sanseki no uta* (see No. 32 in this catalogue) were favourite poems for the purpose (the first two scents serving as preliminary exercises in this case); but poems from the *Tale of Genji* were very often used, and at some time during the Tokugawa period particular configurations of strokes and bars became associated with each of the fifty-four chapters of the novel. (A table can be found most conveniently in Koop and Inada, 1923, pp. 117-20; and for detailed information on the history and rules of the game, see SDHJ, s.v. *kōdō.)*

Chapter 13 of the *Tale of Genji* deals with Genji's sojourn in exile at Akashi, where he is the guest of the ex-Governor. He had been living in most uncomfortable quarters at Suma, and takes advantage of a visit from the ex-Governor to ask him for lodging. "This was just what the old gentleman wanted, and in high delight he hastened to welcome Genji's suggestion. A great bustle commenced; but before daybreak all Genji's effects had been stowed away in the boat and, with his usual band of chosen retainers, he at last set sail. The wind had veered and was behind them on the return journey too, so that the little ship flew to Akashi like a bird. The distance is of course not great and the voyage does not in any case take more than a few hours. But so assiduously did the wind follow them on this occasion that it really seemed as though it were doing it on purpose." (Tr. Waley, 1935, pp. 260-61: cf. Yamagishi, 1958-63, Vol. II, pp. 65-66.)

Once he has installed his guest at Akashi, the ex-Governor encourages Genji to meet his daughter, of whom he has been boasting. Borrowing one of the ex-Governor's horses, Genji rides up the hill to visit her. "For the first time since he had agreed to set out upon this excursion he remembered the lady at his palace far away, and at that moment he could hardly resist turning his horse's head and riding straight to the Capital. 'O thou, my milk-white pony, whose coat is as the moon-beams of this autumn night, carry me like a bird through the air that though it be but for a moment I may look upon the lady whom I love!' So he murmured as he approached the house, which was thickly girt with an abundance of fine timber." (Waley, p. 273; cf. Yamagishi, p. 82.)

The third line of the poem is usually read *waga kouru* by modern editors. 926.18.78


げんじ五十四まいのうち
大和畫工西村重長筆

40

41 Shigenaga. No. 14 *(Dai jūyon-ban)* from a series of fifty-four illustrations to the Tale of Genji *(Genji gojūyon-mai no uchi).* Under the appropriate *Genji-mon* and the short title *Genji,* is the title of the chapter, *Miotsukushi,* "The Tide Gauge," followed by a poem written across the top of the kidney-shaped fan design:

kazu narade (for translation *v. infra)*
Naniwa no koto mo
kai naki ni
nado mi wo tsukushi
omoi somekemu

The picture below shows Genji, with his companion Koremitsu and servant, sitting by his carriage near the estuary of Horie.

yokoe, 16.9 x 33.7; hand-coloured with some *urushi,* metallic dusting; surround design of autumn maple-leaves printed in reserve with *fukibokashi* technique; excellent condition.

Signature: *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu,* seal *Shige.*

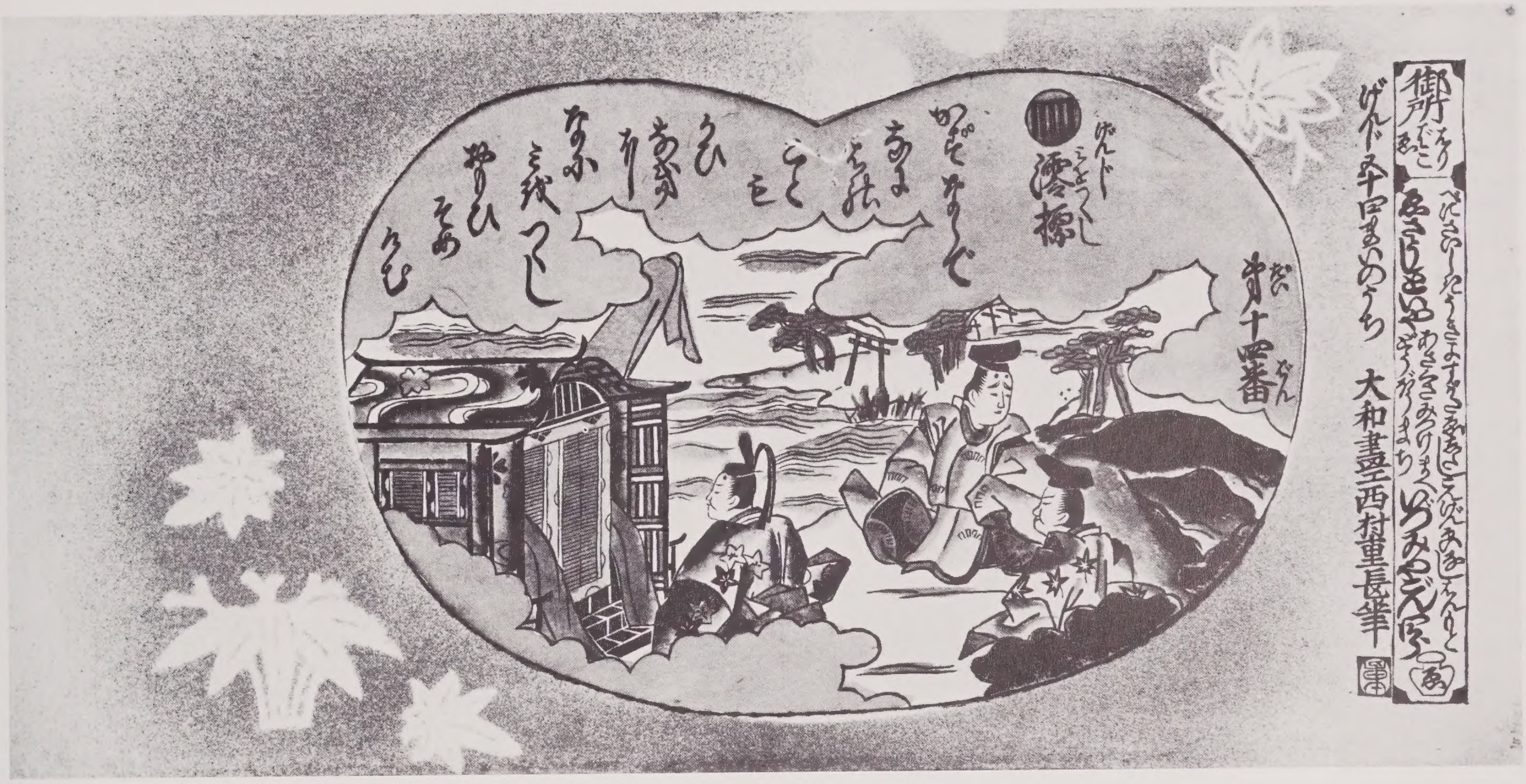
Publisher: as for No. 40.

Date: *c.* 1735.

For general information on the set, see No. 40.

Genji has had a child by the lady of Akashi (see No. 40), and has recently been on a visit to the Sumiyoshi Shrine. He learns afterwards that the Lady of Akashi had also been there, but had been unable to reach him, owing to the crowd of visitors at the Shrine. After leaving Sumiyoshi he makes a pilgrimage to Naniwa, and also visits the Horie estuary, where he sends her a poem alluding to the tide-gauge *(miotsukushi)* of Naniwa, anciently celebrated in a poem by Emperor Nintoku. Genji's poem read: " 'That once again our love to its flood-mark shall rise, what better presage than this chance meeting by the tide-gauge of the shore?' This he sent across to Naniwa by the hand of an underling who, from conversation with her servants, knew at what address she was to be found. Much as she had suffered at seeing him pass her by, it needed only this trifling message to allay all her agitation. In a flutter of gratitude and pride she indited the answer: 'How comes it that to the least of those who bide as pilgrims in this town you bear a love that mounts so high upon the flood-gauge of your heart?' She had that day been bathing in the Holy Waters at the Shrine of Rain-coat Island, and she sent him her poem tied to a prayer-strip which she had brought from the Shrine. When the message reached Genji it was already growing dark; the tide was full, and the cranes along the river-mouth had with one accord set up their strange and moving cry. Touched by the beauty of the place and hour, he suddenly lost all patience with the crowds that surged around him. Could he but banish them all from his sight and find himself with only the writer of this diffident poem at his side!" (Tr. Waley, 1935, p. 298; cf. Yamagishi, 1958-63, Vol. II, pp. 121-22.)

It is the Lady of Akashi's reply which is quoted on Shigenaga's print. As Arthur Waley points out, it contains puns both on the name Naniwa and on the word *miotsukushi.* 926.18.79


澪標
第十四番
げんじ五十四まいのうち
大和畫工西村重長筆

41

42 **Shigenaga.** No. 17 *(Dai jūshichi-ban)* from a series of fifty-four illustrations to the *Tale of Genji (Genji gojūyon-mai no uchi).* Under the appropriate *Genji-mon* and the short title *Genji* is the title of the chapter, *E-awase,* "The Picture Competition," followed by a poem written across the top of the fan design:

ukime mishi (for translation *v. infra)*
sono ori yori mo
kyō wa mata
suginishi kata ni
kaeru namida ka

The picture below shows Genji, attended by an aide, showing Murasaki (who is behind a bamboo blind) his drawings, at the Nijō-in.

yokoe, 16.6 x 33.7; hand-coloured; some *urushi,* metallic dusting; surround design of a flower spray and the character *ju* ("long life") printed in reserve with *fukibokashi* technique; excellent condition.

Signature: *Yamato gakō Nishimura Shigenaga,* seal *Shigenaga.*

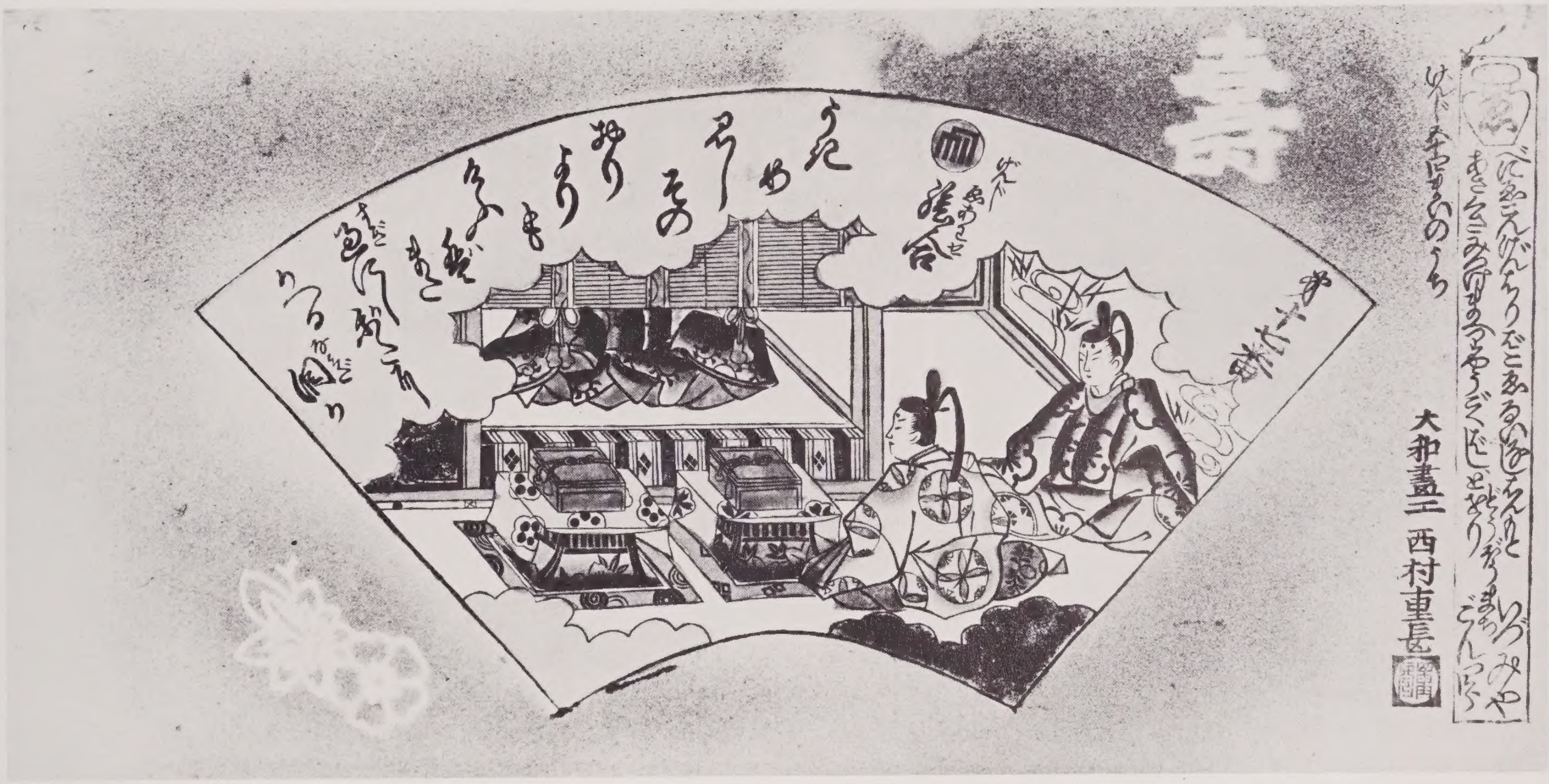
Publisher: Jar-shaped trademark of Izumiya; then *beni-e kongen haribako-e rui nashi hanmoto/Asakusa mitsuke-mae Ryōgoku-bashi-dōri Dōbō-machi Izumiya Gonshirō,* "Izumiya Gonshirō, of Dōbō-machi, Ryōgokubashi-dōri, at the approach to Asakusa, originator of *beni-e* and sole publisher of 'sewing-box' pictures."

Date: *c.* 1735.

For general information on the set, see No. 40.

Tō no Chūjō, Genji's old crony, has ambitions for his daughter to marry the Emperor, who at that time was still a boy. However, she has a rival at court in Genji's beautiful ward, the Princess Akikonomu. Their rivalry is soon tested by an elaborate picture competition, at which the partisans of each side produce paintings from their own collections, in a kind of Battle of the Ancients and the Moderns. In preparation for the contest, Genji considers how he can help Akikonomu, and takes Murasaki to inspect his collection at the Nijō-in. They are forced to eliminate paintings with a Chinese theme. "But it occurred to Genji that his own sketches made during his sojourn at Suma and Akashi might be of interest, and sending for the box in which they were kept he took advantage of this occasion to go through them with Murasaki. Even someone seeing them without any knowledge of the circumstances under which they were painted would, if possessed of the slightest understanding of such matters, have at once been profoundly moved by these drawings. It may be imagined then with what emotion they were examined by one to whom each scene came as an answer to the questionings and anxieties of some evil dream from which it seemed there could be no awakening. She told him more of what she had suffered in those unforgettable days than she had ever done before. Why had he not sometimes sent such pictures as these? How they would have comforted and reassured her! And she recited the verse: 'Better had it been for me when I was alone to look at pictures of the realms where fishers dwell, than stare at nothing, as I did all day long!' Genji was deeply moved and with tears in his eyes he answered with the verse: 'It was an evil time; yet never once in all those days was my heart sore as now when, hand in hand, we view the pictured past'." (Tr. Waley, 1935, p. 333; cf. Yamagishi 1958-63, Vol. II, pp. 177-78.)

It is Genji's poem which is quoted by Shigenaga. Needless to say, at the picture contest itself, Princess Akikonomu's side scores a resounding victory when they finally produce Genji's sketches. 926.18.80



42

43 **Shigenaga.** *Kakemono sambukutsui,* "Hanging Scroll Triptych": *utsutsu no asobi,* "Playing games with the world of sense-impressions." An undivided triptych, with the same title on each leaf. The leaves are labelled (in reverse, as seems to be usual on triptychs of the period) *sa, chū, u:* "left, centre, right." On *our* right, a courtesan sits gazing at a portrait of the actor Arashi Koroku I (1710-86) hung in her *tokonoma.* A poem reads:

yo-arashi ni *nure ni zo nururu* *fuzei kana*	Though drenched he is in the night storm, how drenched he is with elegance!

The middle leaf shows another girl, tying her hair beneath a portrait of Onoe Kikugorō I (1717-83); and a poem, which reads:

akatsuki no *onoe no kane ya* *kiku wakare*	At dawn there sounds the monastery bell from the mountain top: to hear it is to part!

The left-hand leaf shows a third girl, who is holding a long pipe and is seated by a portrait of Sanogawa Ichimatsu I (1722-62); and a poem about him reads:

yomosugara *hito matsumushi no* *koyoi kana*	Waiting all night long – alone: and tonight only the voice of a solitary cricket!

Undivided *hosoe* triptych, 28.8 x 46.2; 2 colour blocks (pink, green); slight wormage (B).

Signature: *Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu* (on the paintings in each of the three alcoves).

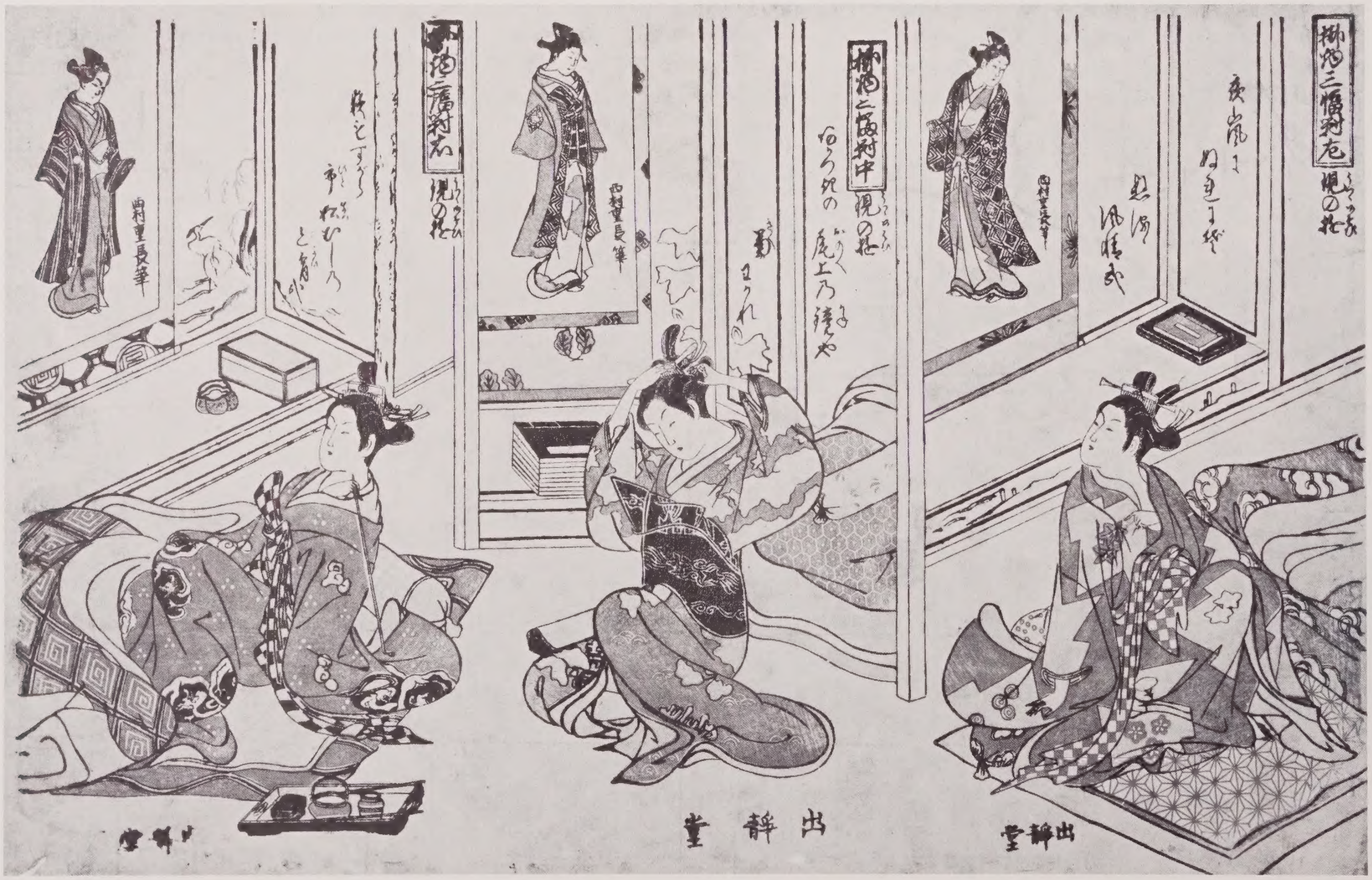
Publisher: *Shutsujōdō* (on each leaf).

Date: *c.* 1750.

Other specimens in the Art Institute of Chicago (Gunsaulus, 1955, p. 198, No. 29); in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (07.716: a poor impression, hand-coloured); and in the British Museum (Binyon, 1916, B.5: an *uncoloured* impression). Subject illustrated: UZ 1, Fig. 149 (centre figure only); Haase (1927), No. 8 and Pl. I (RH figure only).

The poems on each leaf make play with the names of the actors (*hito* in the last poem is an alternative way of reading the *Ichi* of Ichimatsu). The three lonely courtesans are dreaming about their favourite Kabuki actors. The significance of the print might be that all three men were Kansai actors who were not permanent residents of Edo. 926.18.82

43


掛物三幅対左
掛物三幅対中
出静堂
出静堂

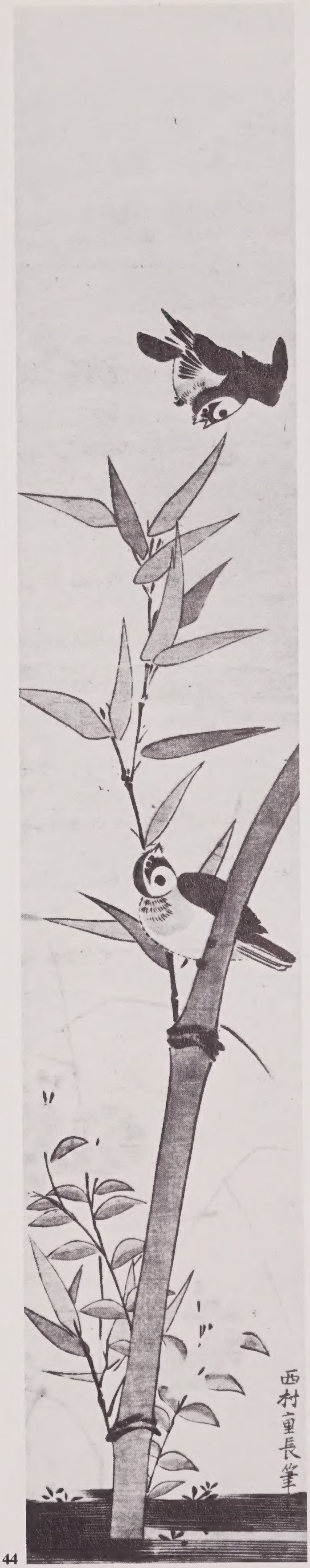
44 **Shigenaga.** A bamboo plant with two song-birds. Other flowers behind.

hashira-e, 69.5 x 12.3; 5(?) colour blocks; some air-burning, fading; horizontal fold-marks.

Signature: *Nishimura Shigenaga hitsu.*

Date: middle 1760s.

No other specimens traced. This attractive design is a rare example of a polychrome print by Shigenaga. 926.18.83



44

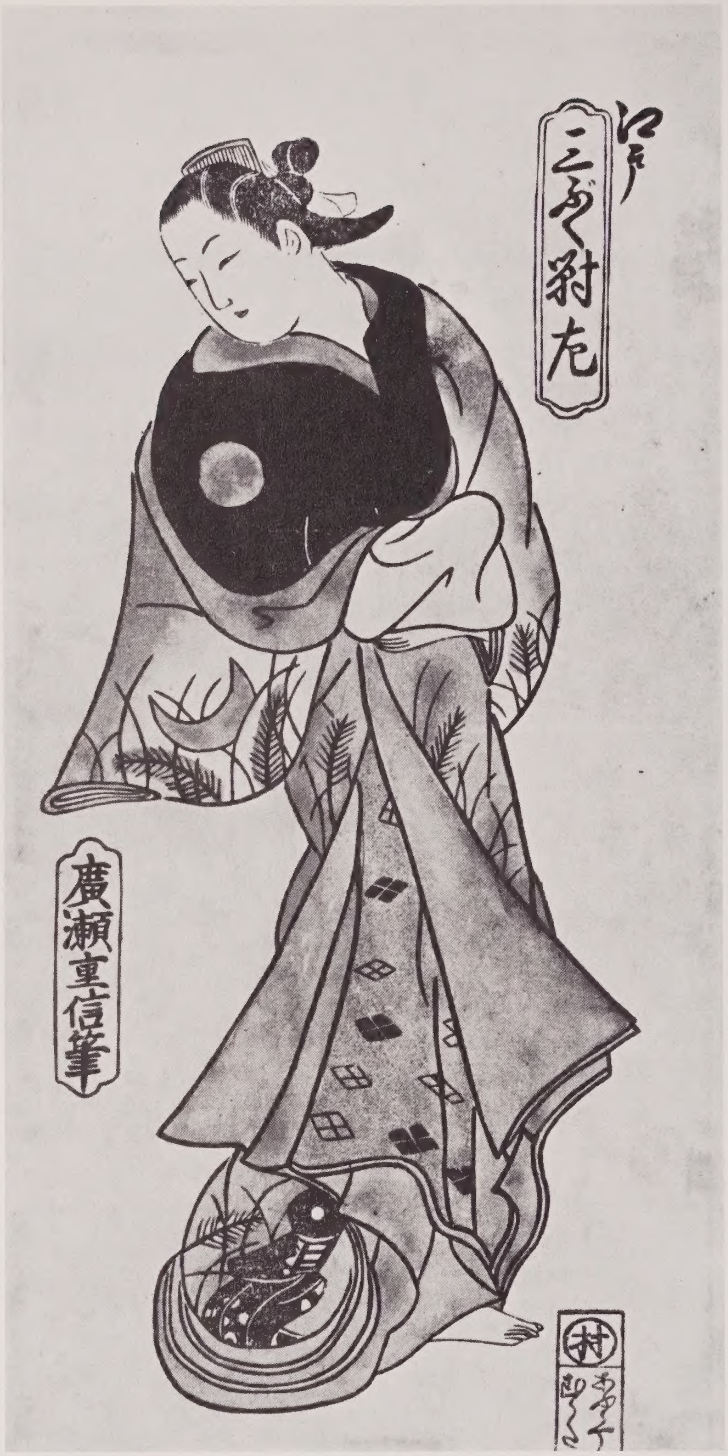
H. Shigenobu

45 **Hirose Shigenobu.** A courtesan of *Edo,* the left-hand sheet of a triptych (*sanbukutsui, hidari*).

hosoe, 30.7 x 15.2; hand-coloured; some air-burning.
Signature: *Hirose Shigenobu hitsu.*
Date: *c.* 1735.

At least nine artists used the name Shigenobu, and Hirose Shigenobu is an obscure man known chiefly by the triptych of Courtesans of the "Three Cities" (Edo, Kyōto, Ōsaka), from which this print comes. Another triptych by him is illustrated in UT 2, Pl. 162; cf. also Hayashi (1902), No. 324. On the basis of the material assembled by Paine (1963b), the Courtesans triptych can be dated to the mid-1730s. For another example of the subject, see No. 1.

The Shigenobu triptych exists in at least two states, in the second of which new heads have been inserted, two of them turned to face the other way. The Walker print is from the first edition. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has two specimens from the first edition: *Edo* (21.5883) and *Ōsaka* (21.5884) (both Spaulding coll.); and *Kyōto* is illustrated in UT 2, Pl. 161. A complete second edition is in Chicago (Gunsaulus, 1955, p. 72, No. 1 and Pl.). What may be a third state of the Kyōto beauty is in Boston (06.1109). All these prints also show considerable differences of hand-colouring. 926.18.83


えど
三ぷく対左
廣瀬重信筆
村

45

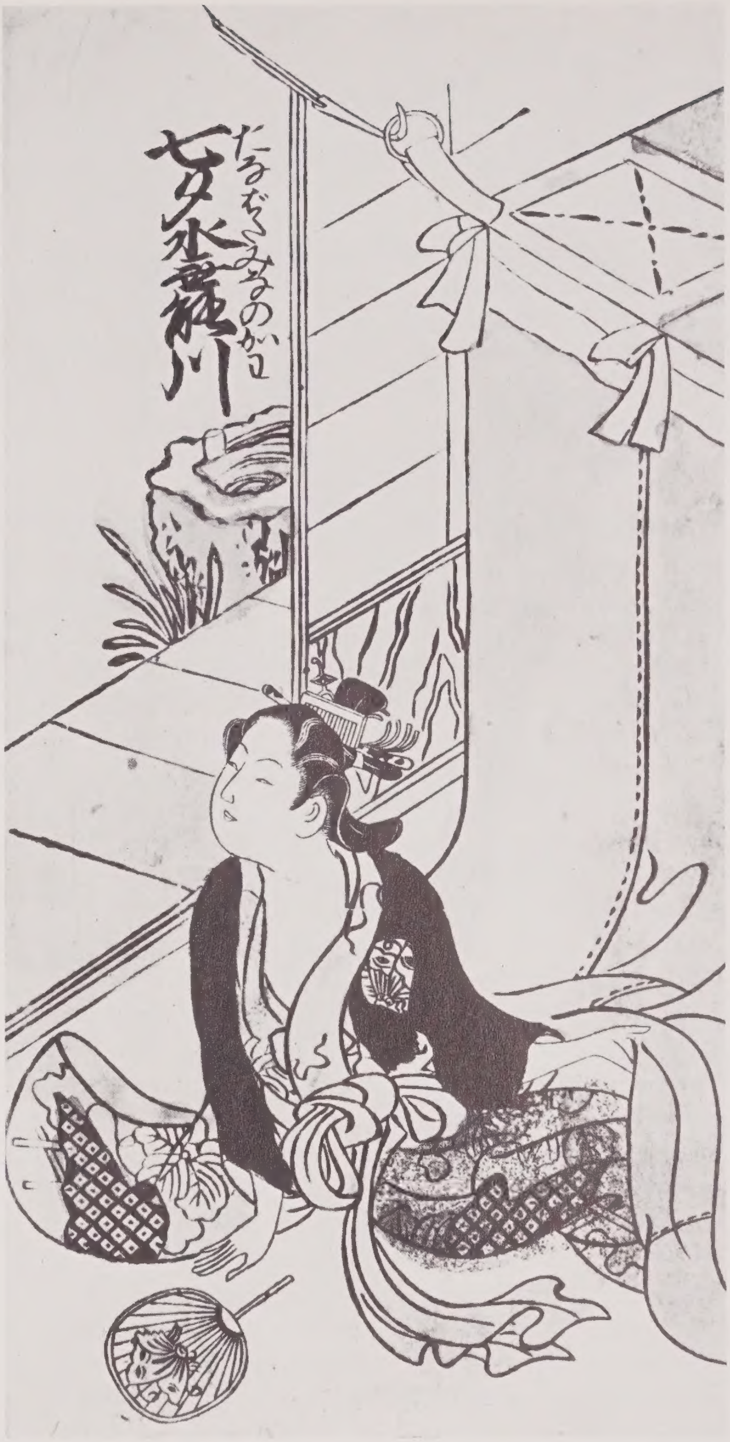
46 **Toshinobu.** (attr.). The actor Sanjō Kantarō II as *Tanabata Minanogawa.*

hosoe, 28.9 x 14.2; hand-coloured; some *urushi*; trimmed (B), with removal of the signature block.
Date: *c.* 1730.

There is a Toshinobu print in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.19116), which is of very similar design to the Walker print, but has all the details *reversed.* It too shows a girl reading outside a mosquito net, propping herself on one arm, and with her fan lying on the floor.

Sanjō Kantarō II was born in Edo in 1702, and at first took *wakashū* (young man's) roles; but in 1716 he became a *waka-onnagata,* and remained so until 1735, when he reverted to male parts as a *tachiyaku* (principal actor); and in 1744 he took the name Hanai Saisaburō III. Thereafter his popularity declined, and in 1755 he retired from the stage, having meanwhile become head of the Nakamura-za. He died in 1763. In his heyday he was regarded as one of the greatest *onnagata,* and was frequently portrayed by *ukiyoe* artists, including Toshinobu. Identification of the rôle depicted here is impossible from the incomplete records printed in KN.

Okumura Toshinobu was the most distinguished pupil of Masanobu, and his work has an individual line and fresh use of colour. Nothing is known of his life, but he did mainly hand-coloured *hosoe* prints of actors and courtesans. 926.18.95


たなばたみなのかは
七夕水無川

46

47 Toshinobu. *Anegawa Chiyosaburō* as *Kuzunoha.*

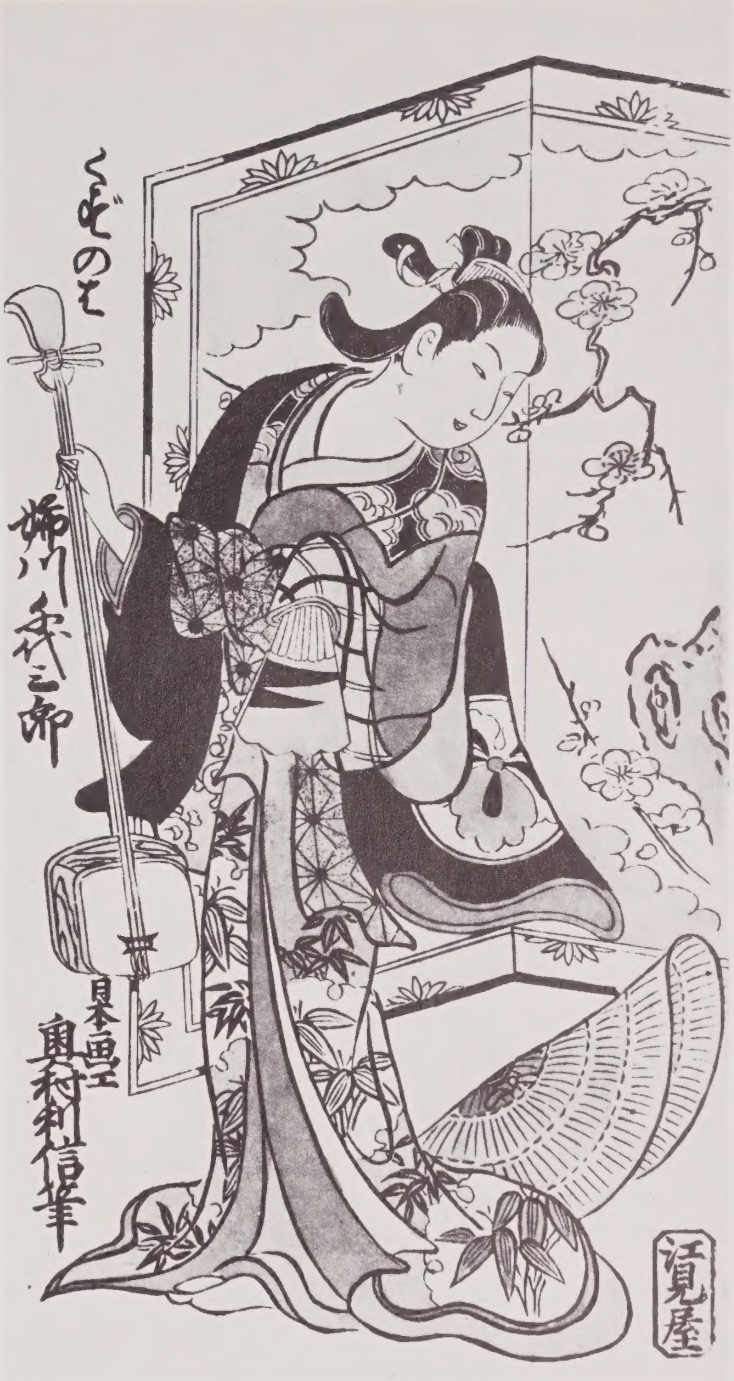
hosoe, 30.0 x 15.3; hand-coloured with metallic dusting; wormage (TR), otherwise fine condition.
Signature: *Yamato gakō Okumura Toshinobu hitsu.*
Publisher: *Emiya.*
Date: 1735.

There are in Japan many tales of the cunning and magical powers of the fox (see Nakayama, 1941, I, pp. 528 f.), especially of its ability to assume the shape of a beautiful girl. Stories in which a fox thus becomes the bride of a human being can be found in the *Nihon ryōiki* (early ninth century) and the *Mizu kagami* (late Kamakura period). The legend that Abe no Seimei, the famous Heian court diviner and magician, had a fox as his mother first appears in print in the *Hoki shō* (1647). Under the title *Shinoda-zuma,* "The Bride from Shinoda," it formed the subject of an *uta-sekkyō* ballad (Takano, 1928, p. 856) and of various plays in the repertoire of the early *jōruri* puppet theatre (1674; 1678; etc.: for details, see EHD, s.v. *Shinoda-zuma;* GJ, p. 224; also Dunn, 1966, p. 97). In these versions the emphasis shifted somewhat from Seimei to his parents, Abe no Yasuna and the fox-maiden Kuzunoha-gitsune. Yasuna once saved a young fox in the forest of Shinoda: the fox was so grateful that it averted dangers from Yasuna, and presently took the form of a woman. Yasuna took the woman as his wife, and she gave him a son, Seimei. But she hides herself when Seimei discovers who his mother really is. At this Seimei and Yasuna are stricken with grief and try to commit suicide; whereupon Kuzunoha re-emerges, and instructs Seimei in various secret arts. By this means he is able to succeed in life and vanquish his opponents.

The story of Kuzunoha is an instructive example of the way in which *jōruri* tales have been adapted over the years. Abe no Seimei gradually recedes into the background, and the central character becomes the fox-maiden herself – separated from her child, wandering in the forest of Shinoda, hiding from the hunters in the moorland grass at autumn. The Toshinobu print from the Walker collection represents an early stage in this process. A new Gidayū-bushi on the Kuzunoha theme was composed by Takeda Izumo (1691–1756), with the title *Ashiya Dōman Ōuchi Kagami.* It was first performed at the Takemoto-za on the fifth day, tenth month, 1734, and is notable as being the first occasion on which three handlers were used for a single puppet (KN 2, p. 208). The following year, at the Nakamura-za, one of the three Kabuki theatres in Edo, the *kaomise* ("face-showing") play for the eleventh month was an elaborate piece called *Tono-zukuri Shinoda-zuma,* in which the two leading rôles were played by Sawamura Sōjūrō and his new partner Anegawa Chiyosaburō (KN 2, p. 222-25; KND, p. 126). Anegawa Chiyosaburō, a pupil of the more well-known Anegawa Shinshirō, came to Edo from Kyōto in the winter of 1734. He was an *onnagata,* or female impersonator, specialising in young girls. In the autumn of 1737 he changed his name to Anegawa Kiyozō; and he later left the stage, though he continued to reside in Edo (DJ, s.v.); but between 1735 and 1737 he appeared in a number of plays, usually with Sawamura Sōjūrō; and when Sōjūrō left the Nakamura-za in 1736 for the Ichimura-za (KN 2, p. 236), Chiyosaburō seems to have followed him.

In *Tono-zukuri Shinoda-zuma* Sōjūrō played the part of Abe no Yasunari (a deliberate change from Abe no Yasuna); and Chiyosaburō played his concubine Te-gashiwa. Most of the play, in fact, seems to have had very little to do with the Kuzunoha story, which is only brought in to provide opportunity for a *michiyuki,* or "road-travelling" scene, by these two actors. This was the highlight of the show, and had an Itchū-bushi chant, *Kangiku tsuri kōrō,* specially composed by Miyako Itchū III. In the course of a "posture" dance *(shosa),* Sōjūrō, as a hunter, displays the mask of a fox which he has caught, and Te-gashiwa shows her revulsion. Toshinobu's print, which may have been prepared in advance of the performance, makes the allusion explicit, by labelling Chiyosaburō as "Kuzunoha." One may surmise that it was one of a pair, the other depicting Sōjūrō.

In the third month, 1737, this dance was revived, again at the Nakamura-za, but, since Chiyosaburō had now gone over to the Ichimura-za, the rôle of Kuzunoha was taken by the celebrated Segawa Kikunojō I (KN 2, p. 252). On this occasion the audience did not have to sit through *Tono-zukuri* before they could enjoy *Shinoda-zuma:* the performance was mainly so that Kikunojō could show off his talents before going on leave to Kyōto; and he did a spectacular "transformation" dance, in which he altered his costume seven times, each time suggesting the fox-like nature of Kuzunoha more. Toshinobu designed a print for this performance too (NHBZ II, CPl. 20), which is strikingly different from the print of Chiyosaburō, in mood as well as design. Where Chiyosaburō is depicted in a calm, reflective pose, holding a *shamisen,* Kikunojō is whirling in the middle of his dance, beating a drum, and holding up a parasol with fans and poem slips dangling from it. In the end, Kikunojō does not seem to have gone to Kyōto until the autumn, because he gave encore performances at the Nakamura-za during the summer (for the Bon festival) and again in the ninth month (KN 2, p. 253). It is also interesting to compare with the Walker print a design by Kiyomasu II in Boston (MFAB: 11.13262) showing the actor Matsushima Hyōtarō standing in a similar pose to Chiyosaburō, but holding a helmet, and against a similar screen of plum blossom.


くずのは
姉川千代三郎
日本画工
奥村利信筆
江見屋
47

The Kuzunoha theme continued to be treated on the Kabuki stage in various forms. A Tokiwazu version was performed in 1793; a Kiyomoto version, entitled *Yasuna,* was first performed in 1818; another Tokiwazu version in 1831; a Katō-bushi version in 1853; and there are also Shinnai and Tomimoto-bushi versions. The Gidayū version and variants of it have also been performed on numerous occasions; and there is an early *shamisen* suite *(kumiuta)* called *Kuzunoha* (Iba, 1928, p. 807; EGY; EHD).

The story of Abe no Seimei, too, continued to be developed by writers, and was a subject for book illustration. In 1726 Hachimonji Jishō and Ejima Kiseki in Kyōto published a novelette, *Abe no Seimei byakko no tama;* another novel, *Abe no Seimei ichidai hakke* (3 vols., 1797) was written by Bakin, with illustrations by Kitao Shigemasa; and in 1816 Utagawa Kuninobu illustrated *Abe no Seimei tsujiura-zōshi.* 926.18.70

48 **Toyonobu.** *Kikusakaya musume,* "The Girl from the Chrysanthemum Wine Shop." We see Okiku, a beauty of the Kikusakaya in Kaga, seated on a bench beneath a willow tree, wearing a semi-transparent robe and holding one end of a figured handkerchief between her teeth. Her crest-badge bears the character *Kiku.*

hosoe, 28.4 x 15.2; hand-coloured, with some metallic dusting; trimmed (B); some fading.
Signature and publisher: *v. infra.*
Date: 1734.

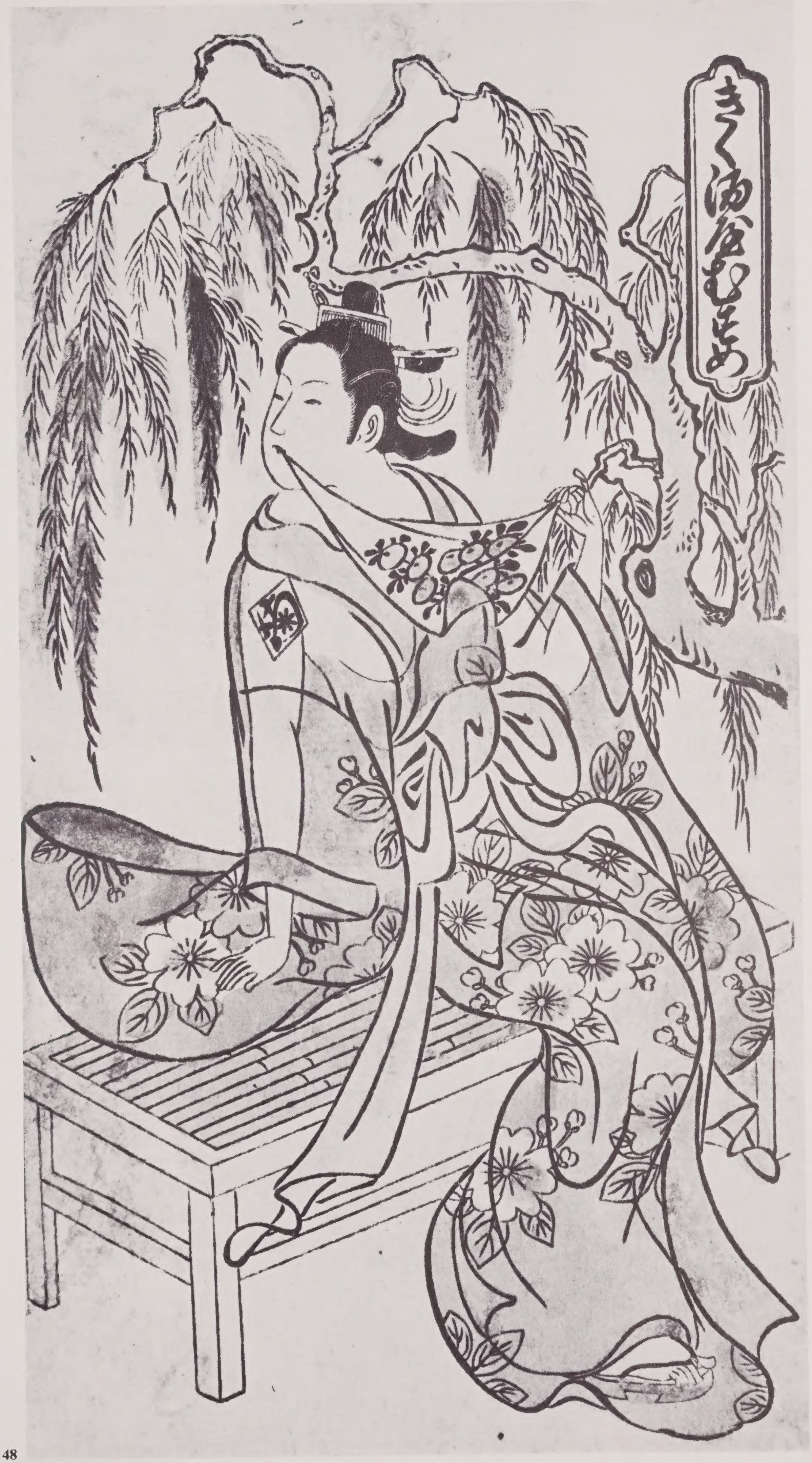
The signature block has been cut off the bottom of this print. There is another specimen in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, signed [*Eshi*] *Nishimura Shigenobu hitsu,* publisher *Urokogataya hanmoto* and seal. The name Nishimura Shigenobu was probably used by Ishikawa Toyonobu (1711-85) in his youth, and is found on several other prints of the period.

Also in Boston is a *hosoe* print (06.999) by the little-known artist Furuyama Morotane, which has a closely related design, but in reverse. It too shows a girl wearing diaphanous robes and holding the end of a cloth in her teeth – a provocative pose which can occasionally be seen in other *ukiyoe* of the period. Since the Morotane print is one of a pair, it is reasonable to assume that the Toyonobu also is, and that the other design showed Kōsuke, Okiku's lover.

Okiku was a beauty who worked for the Kikusakaya in Kaga, and her lover was the youthful Kōsuke. Their parents objected to a marriage, and so according to the usual form the two committed suicide. Their story first appeared on the stage in a *jōruri* piece by Miyakoji Bungonojō, under the title *Kaga no Okiku imose no nakakumi.* This was first performed in Kyōhō 19 (1734) at the Nakamura-za, and is the source of all later versions. It must also be the inspiration for Toyonobu's print, and provides a firm date for it. The next performances were a Tokiqazu version in 1751 at the Nakamura-za, with the title *Okiku Kōsuke hiyoku no Kaga mon;* and a *nagauta* version in 1769 at the Ichimura-za, with the title *Okiku michiyuki yukari no hatsuzakura.* It is also interesting to learn that Kansuidō Jōa, whose poems appear on so many prints of the 1750s (see note on No. 15), wrote a two-volume novelette about the pair, called *Kikusakaya* (see listing in KSM).

Later stage versions of the story, however, interweave with it episodes from the Kaga rebellion (the first being a performance of 1780); and nineteenth-century versions all derive from a drama by the well-known writer Segawa Jokō II, which was first performed in 1793. The story was also the subject of long works by Santō Kyōden: *Kikusakaya musume teikun* (1807: illustrated by Toyokuni; also a later continuation and several reprints), and *Kikusakaya kasane-ōgi* (1825: illustrated by Kunisada); and by Kokusentei Yukimaro: *Kikuzakaya chitose no tomoshiraga* (1825: illustrated by Kunisada). Like so many other themes in eighteenth-century Kabuki, it is now almost completely forgotten (KBD, s.v. *Okiku, Kōsuke;* KN 2, p. 212; Atsumi, 1956).

Ishikawa Toyonobu (1711-85) was a pupil of Shigenaga, but surpassed his master in the delicacy and variety of his work. He married the daughter of an inn-keeper, and himself took over the business; but continued to design prints until the late 1760s. His earlier name was Nishimura Shigenobu. 926.18.69



48

49 **Toyonobu.** Kuan Yü, the Chinese God of War, reading a love-letter with a courtesan.

hashira-e, 69.9 x 16.0; hand-coloured, some *urushi.*

Signature: *Tanchōdō Ishikawa Shūha Toyonobu zu,* seals *Ishikawa* and *Toyonobu.*

Publisher: trademark of Urokogataya.

Date: later 1730s.

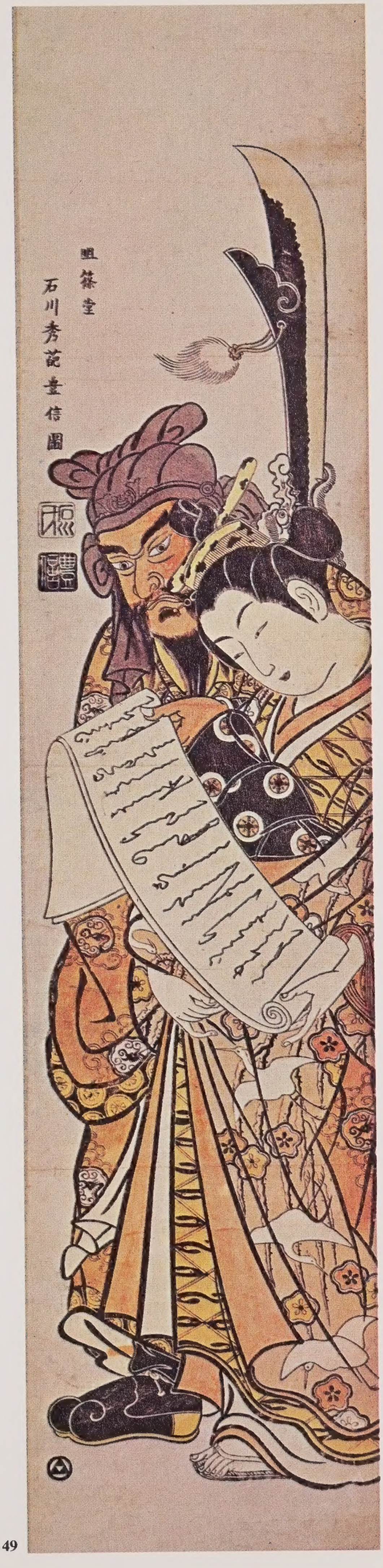
There is another specimen in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.19679), unfortunately trimmed and somewhat air-burned; and the subject is illustrated in Kawaura (1919), Pl. 26; Murata (1919), Pl. 5.

Kuan Yü (*Kan-u* in Japanese) is the Chinese God of War, whose exploits with Chang Fei *(Chōhi)* in support of Liu Pei *(Ryūbi)* – also called Hsüan Tê *(Gentoku)* – are familiar to every Chinese schoolboy. Liu Pei was actually first ruler of the Shu Han dynasty in South-west China during the third century A.D., and Kuan Yü and Chang Fei were his generals and sworn brothers, who helped him to power: but the cycle of legends associated with them largely derives from the *San kuo chih yen yi,* "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms," which was compiled in late Yüan or early Ming times. Kuan Yü was already the subject of dramas written during the Yüan period, and there are many Peking operas about him. (I am indebted to my colleague Catherine Stevens for much of this information.)

Kuan Yü is deified in China as God of War, and is invariably shown with a red face, a "beautiful beard," and carrying his "Blue Dragon Crescent" lance. I am uncertain when the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* first reached Japan, but Kuan Yü does not seem to have entered Japanese consciousness much before the Edo period. There are paintings of him by Matsumura Goshun (1752-1811), Kanō Isen (1775-1828), Nagasawa Rosetsu (1755-99) and Tani Bunchō (1764-1840): but all these seem to be preceded by *ukiyoe* depictions. KSM lists an *akahon* story *Sankokushi,* in one volume, published in 1721 with illustrations by Hanekawa Chinchō; and there was also a ten-volume work with the same title (perhaps a Japanese translation of the entire novel?) with illustrations by Torii Kiyomitsu. A version in three volumes by Jippensha Ikku, with illustrations by Shun-ei, was published in 1808. There are prints of Kan-u by Toyoharu, Utamaro and Kuniyoshi, as well as Toyonobu.

Evidence that the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* was coming to be well-known at the time of Toyonobu's print is provided by a hand-coloured print by Shigenaga in the collection of Mr. George Mann, Chicago, which shows Yamashita Kinsaku as a girl book-pedlar selling *inter alia* a work called *Sankokushi.* Even more circumstantial, however, is a performance in the eleventh month, 1737, at the Kawarasaki-za in Edo, in which Ichikawa Danjūrō II assumed the rôle of the Chinese God of War (KN 2, pp. 258-60; KND, p. 142). This play was *Urūzuki ninin Kagekiyo;* it marked the first appearance of Kuan Yü on the Kabuki stage, and it spawned a number of plays and episodes of the earlier nineteenth century. It was also one of the rôles for which Danjūrō (at that time called Ebizō) became famous, and the pose which he struck on this occasion came to be known as the *Kan-u mie,* or "Kuan Yü pose." It is entirely possible that Toyonobu's print is an oblique reference to this performance, either as a joke against Danjūrō – implying that he was fond of women – or as a joke against Kuan Yü, who is noted in the legend for his rectitude.

The 1737 play actually had a Japanese setting. Kagekiyo (played by Ichikawa Danzō) knows that Noriyori is plotting to overthrow the Emperor; and, disguised as Chang Fei, he steals secretly into Noriyori's mansion. However, Hatakeyama Shigetada (played by Danjūrō II) appears as Kuan Yü, with a long beard and the "Blue Dragon Crescent" lance. He bestrides a white horse, and an *aragoto* scene follows in which he detects Kagekiyo's imposture. 926.18.436


明篠堂
石川秀葩豊信圖

49

50 **Toyonobu.** A wet-nurse, with a small boy at her back and a baby in arms at her breast. The poem reads:

yadorigi ya *takigi no hana no* *mieru kana*	Transplanted stems! – but just see how from the firewood come flowers!

hosoe, 30.9 x 14.2; 3 colour blocks (red, yellow, blue); faded; key-block slightly worn.

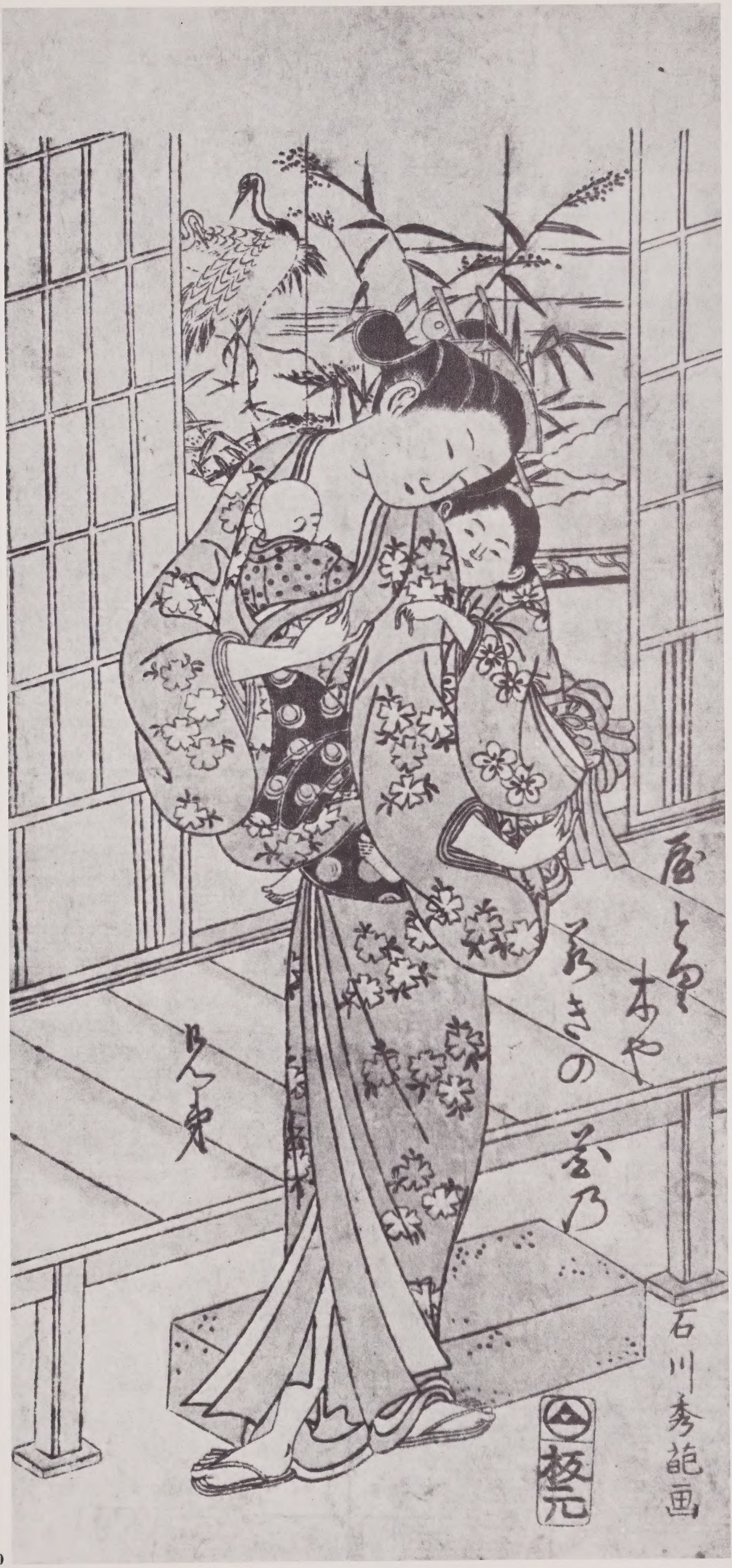
Signature: *Ishikawa Shūha ga.*

Publisher: Trademark of Urokogataya, and the word *hanmoto.*

Date: *c.* 1760.

There is a print in comparable style, of a mother and child, also signed *Ishikawa Shūha ga,* and with the same publisher and colouring, in the British Museum: 1948.4.10.08. Toyonobu produced a number of prints for Urokogataya during this period.

The poem alludes to the proverbial expression *takigi ni hana,* "flowers amid the firewood", which means that even in a humble and rough-looking house there may be admirable and pleasing qualities to be found. Here the meaning seems to be that the two children have been given to a foster-mother of low degree. 926.18.84



50

51 Toyonobu. Ariwara no Narihira eloping with the future Empress Nijō. The poem (T) reads:

oni kuwan *susuki ga naka no* *ominaeshi*	The goblin will eat her up! – lady-flower amid the long grass of autumn!
Oku Iwase, Tōso	by Tōso, from the Northern depths of Iwase

hashira-e, 71.3 x 10.4; 3 colour blocks (red, yellow, blue), overprinting; signs of wear in the key-block.

Signature: *Tanchōdō Ishikawa Shūha ga,* seal *Toyonobu.*

Publisher: trademark of Urokogataya, and *hanmoto.*

Date: *c.* 1765.

Another specimen: MFAB: 21.6253 (Spaulding coll.).

This print is an illustration of Section 6 of the *Ise Monogatari,* the tenth-century collection of love episodes and poems which is traditionally ascribed to Ariwara no Narihira. Narihira was supposed to have eloped with the lady Fujiwara Kōshi (842–910), the "Empress from the Second Ward," who was a consort of Emperor Seiwa. The chief sources for this romantic affair are the *Kokinshū* and the *Ise Monogatari,* neither of which was compiled as an exact historical record; but the legend was very well-known, and much discussed by Tokugawa scholars, who read political motives into Narihira's courtship. For further information, the reader is referred to the excellent discussion in a recent translation by Helen Craig McCullough (1968, pp. 44 ff.).

In order to explain the poem on this print, it will be helpful to quote the complete story from the *Ise Monogatari* (I have used the editions by Kubota, 1965, and Namba, 1960):

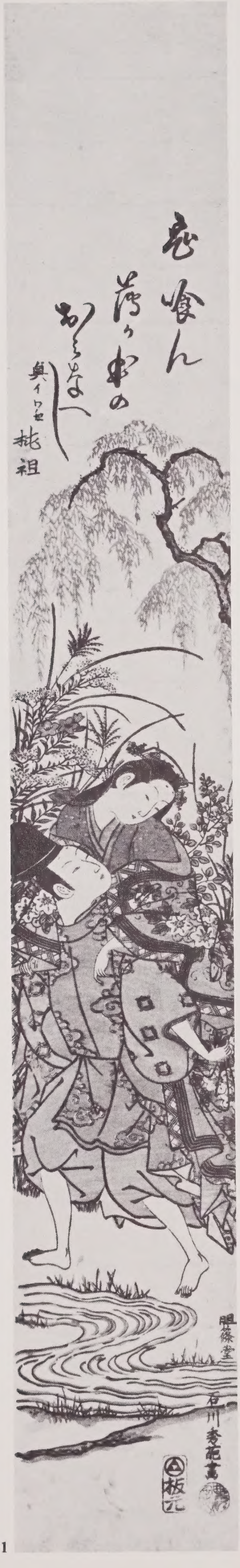
> There was once a man who had been seeing a certain lady: but although he had paid court to her for years, it was only after much difficulty that he was able to win her heart and to run off with her.
>
> In the course of their journey they came to a river called the Akutagawa, and, on seeing the dew lying on the grass, she asked him "Whatever is that?"
>
> The way ahead was far, and, when night fell, they did not realise that the region was infested with goblins. Rain fell in torrents, and the thunder was most terrifying: so the man pushed his lady friend inside an abandoned barn which they came upon, and shouldering his bow and quiver, he stood by the entrance, wishing that it would soon be daybreak. But suddenly a goblin ate the lady – all in one gulp.
>
> "Help!", she cried: but the thunder was making such a din that he could not hear her.
>
> Gradually the sky grew light; and, going inside, he saw that his lady companion was gone. He paced up and down and wept in his grief, but to no avail: and he wrote a poem:

shiratama ka *nani zo to hito no* *toishi toki* *tsuyu to kotaete* *kienamashi mono wo*	"Are they crystal gems? Or what are they?" – My dearest asked: and I should have told her they were dew, that we could both have died with the dawn!

> In connexion with this story, when the future Empress Nijō was a lady-in-waiting to her cousin, the Imperial Consort, her beauty was so attractive that somebody stole off with her on his back. Her brothers, the Minister Horikawa and the Councillor Tarō Kunitsune, who were at that time still of junior rank, were on their way to the Palace. They heard the sound of somebody screaming terribly, apprehended the man and brought the lady back. It is for this reason that people call him "The Goblin." They say that he was at that time very young, and that the Empress was still a commoner.

The last paragraph of this narrative is taken to refer to Narihira, but it is without doubt a later commentary on the original text. However, Toyonobu's illustration, and the poem by Tōso, clearly refer to the second abduction; and the iconography of this incident was firmly established during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in many illustrated editions of the *Ise Monogatari.* (See Fritz Rumpf's valuable monograph, 1932, for details.) Shunshō, for example, illustrated it not only in his well-known *chūban* series of the *Ise Monogatari* (see Waterhouse, 1964, p. 250), but also in a pillar-print version, of which Boston has a specimen (MFAB: 21.4310: Spaulding coll.). For an *ōban* version by Kiyohiro, cf. Gunsaulus (1955), p. 232 and Pl.

I have not discovered who the poet Tōso was, but he was probably a northern follower of Bashō. (Iwase is in the south-east of Fukushima Prefecture.) *Ominaeshi,* as well as being one of the Seven Grasses of Autumn, can mean "courtesan" in *haiku.* 926.18.437


與イワセ
桃祖
明篠堂
石川秀葩画
板元

51

Y. Yoshinobu

52 Yamamoto Yoshinobu. Two dancers: a man performing a spear dance *(yari-odori)* against a background of autumn maple; and a girl performing a "spring pony" dance *(harugoma)* against a background of cherry blossom. Poems appropriate to each read, respectively:

some-iro no *yama ya torige no* *momiji kana*	The autumn-tinted mountain – see the red maple there and on the feathered spear!
harugoma no *isamaba hana wo* *yuki to min*	If the Spring Pony Dance is lively enough the flowers will look like snow!

Undivided *hosoe* diptych, 29.4 x 28.9; 2 colour blocks (pink, blue).

Signature: *Yamamoto Yoshinobu ga,* seals *Yamamoto* and *Yoshinobu* (on each sheet).

Publisher: trademark *Yama* + *moto-han* of Maruya Kohei (Hōsendō) (on each sheet).

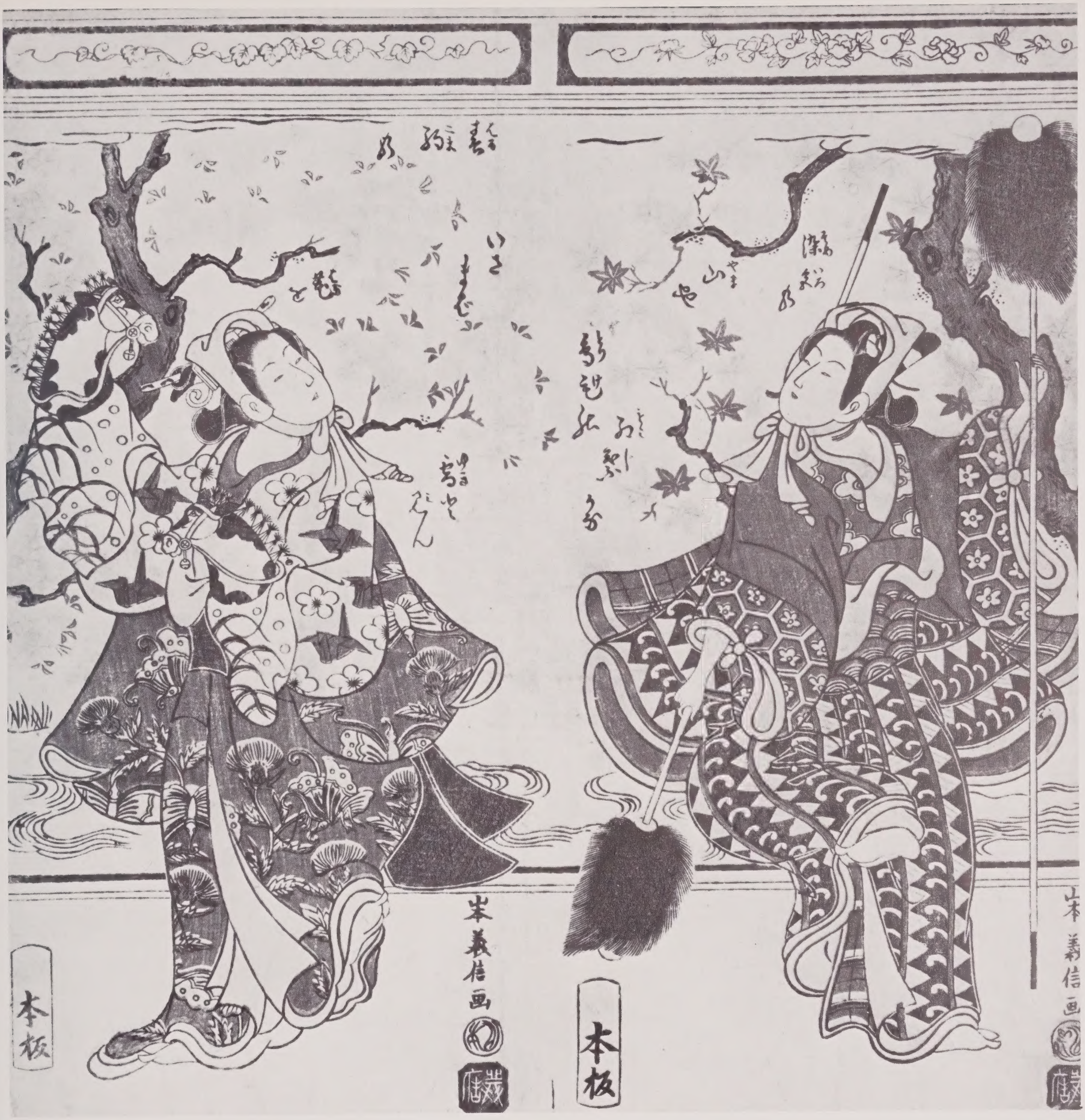
Date: *c.* 1754.

The subject is illustrated in UT 3, Pl. 123.

Yamamoto Yoshinobu began by signing his prints *Shigeharu:* an *urushi-e* by him datable to 1745 is signed *Yamamoto Heishichirō Shigeharu.* In a *kurohon* of 1748 he still uses the name Shigeharu, but the frontispiece to a Yoshiwara guide of 1751 is signed *Yamamoto Heishichirō Yoshinobu sho* (Yoshida, 1965-71, s.v.). A Yoshinobu print with the same publisher's seal as on the Walker print is in the British Museum (1928.5.16.03): it shows Matsumoto Kōzō as Tsunewakamaru, in *Yoru no tsuru hana no sugomori,* a play performed at the Nakamura-za in Spring, 1754 (KN 3, p. 183). Yoshinobu's work is in the style which we associate with the 1750s, and is sometimes risqué. It is not known when he ceased to work.

The *yari-odori* is a solo dance said to have originated with Mizuki Tatsunosuke (1673-1745) in a performance at the Ichimura-za in 1691; and it is depicted in the well-known album *Fūryū shihō byōbu* (1700) by Kiyonobu I. Yoshinobu may also have intended a reference to the *yari-matsuri,* the "Spear Festival," of which there are detailed descriptions in Edo period sources (see Nishitsunoi, 1958), and which took place on the thirteenth day of the seventh month. *Yari* were the semi-ornamental "spears" – consisting of poles with a feather tuft – carried by the footmen in a *daimyō's* procession. In the *yari-matsuri,* one deposited small *yari* at the Ōji Shrine, in exchange for others which had previously been deposited there and had so acquired the power of protecting one's home against fire and theft.

The *harugoma* dance, which Yoshinobu contrasts with the *yari-odori,* was widely performed in the Edo period, but according to Nishitsunoi now survives only in Niigata Prefecture and on Okinawa. It was done at New Year from house to house, using a wooden hobby-horse, and Maeda (1966) thinks that it was a popular modification of the Heian period ceremony of the White Horse *(ao-uma no sechi-e),* which was done in the imperial palace on the seventh day of the first month. In the Edo period there were also several Kabuki and instrumental pieces based on the *harugoma,* and we find frequent allusion to it in eighteenth-century *ukiyoe,* especially as performed by children. 926.18.96


本板
山本義信画
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山本義信画

52

Part Two

Artists chiefly active from 1765 onwards

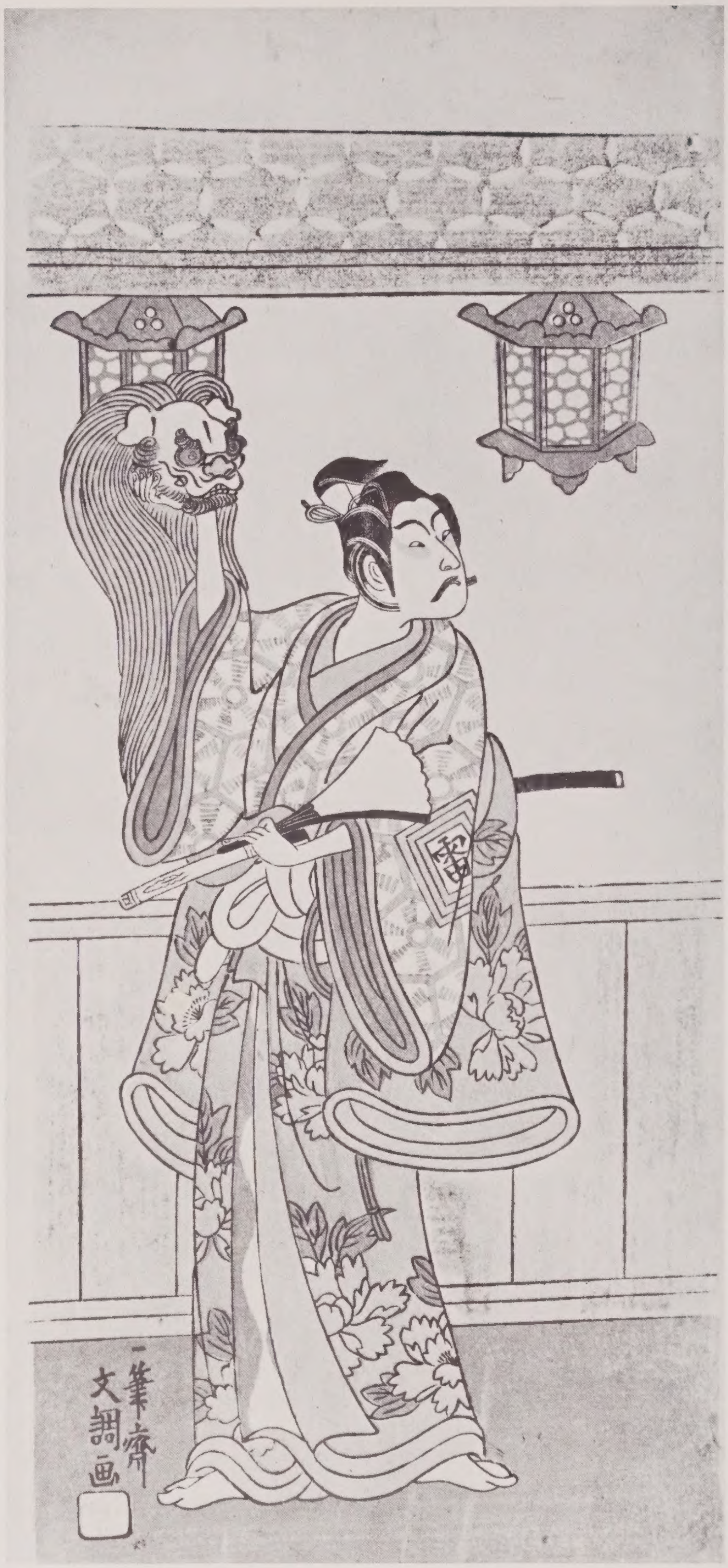
53 **Bunchō.** Ichikawa Raizō II in a *shakkyō* dance. He holds up a lion's head puppet in his right hand, and has a sword thrust defiantly under his left arm. His costume bears a design of peonies (associated with *shakkyō* dances through the Nō play of that name).

hosoe, 33.2 x 15.0; 3 colour blocks; some oxidation.
Signature: *Ippitsusai Bunchō ga,* seal *Mori uji.*
Date: 1769 (or 1776?).

Ichikawa Raizō II was born in Edo in 1754, the son of Raizō I, and made his first appearances there, under the name Ichikawa Hinazō. After withdrawing from the stage for a few years, he took the title Raizō II in 1769 (following his father's death two years previously), and thereafter made a small name for himself in *aragoto* ("rough") young man's rôles, performing at the Nakamura-za. He died on the seventh day, first month, 1778.

This striking print by Bunchō was probably the left-hand member of a diptych, and can be dated *c.* 1770-75 on stylistic grounds. Bunchō did at least two prints to commemorate the performance of a *shakkyō* dance by Segawa Kikunojō II in the fifth month, 1769, at the Nakamura-za (see Waterhouse, 1964, No. 2), the same production which saw Raizō's return to the stage under his new name, in the rôle of Imayō Sukeroku (KN 4, pp. 108, 111). It is possible, therefore, that the Walker print belongs to this play. However, Raizō appeared with Kikunojō III in 1776, the first month, in a play in which Kikunojō did his father's famous lion dance (KN 4, p. 283), and this date would also be possible for the print.

Ippitsusai Bunchō (d. after 1790) worked mainly in the later 1760s and earlier 1770s, designing prints of actors and courtesans with strong lines and colours. He also painted and composed *haiku.* 926.18.239

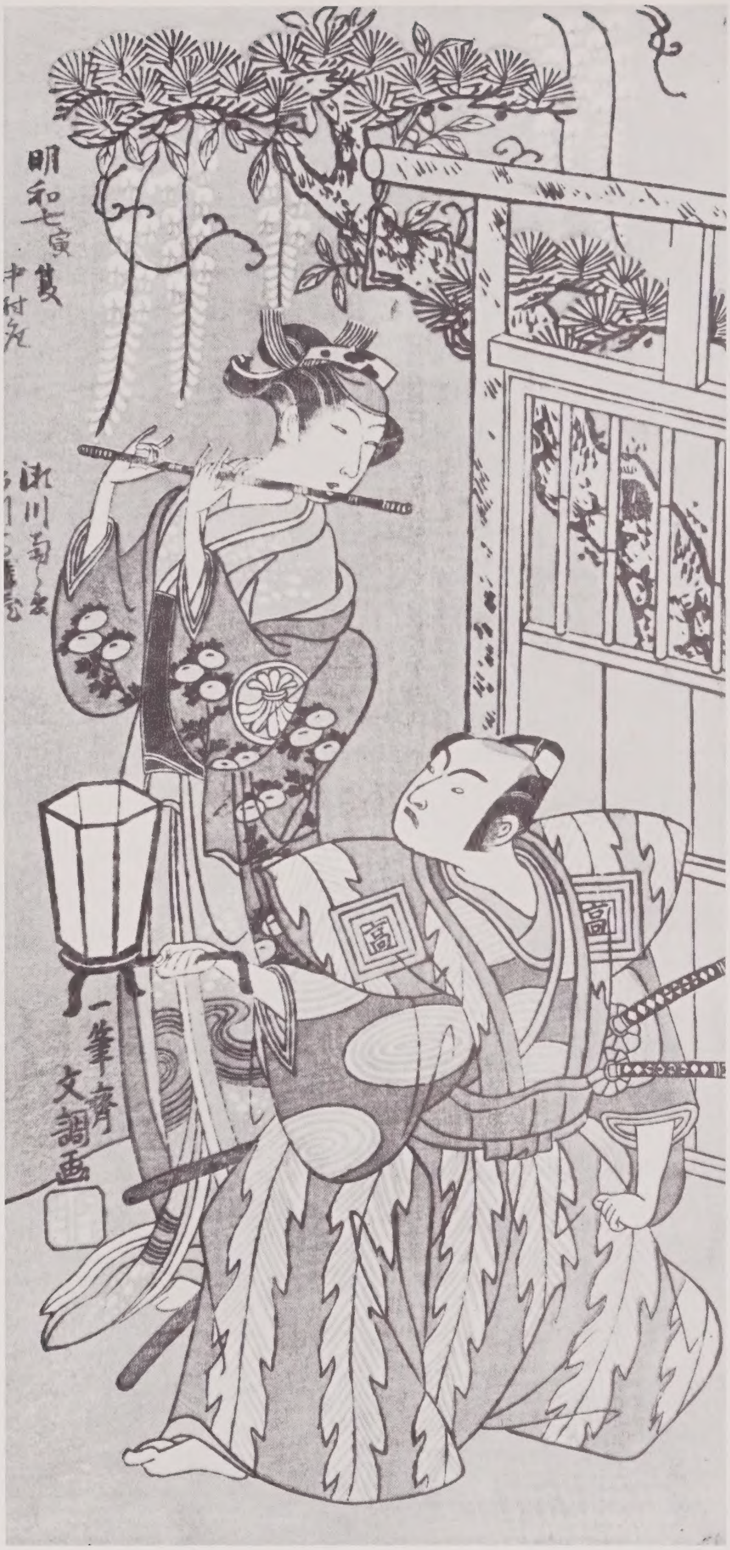


53

54 **Bunchō.** Segawa Kikunojō II playing a flute and Ichikawa Komazō holding a lantern, in a scene from a play. A manuscript note (TL) reads: *Meiwa shichi, tora, natsu: Nakamuraza; Segawa Kikunojō, Ichikawa Komazō,* "Meiwa 7, the Tiger year (1770), summer: at the Nakamuraza; Segawa Kikunojō and Ichikawa Komazō."

hosoe, 32.2 x 14.5; 5 colour blocks; excellent condition.
Signature: *Ippitsusai Bunchō ga,* seal *Mori uji.*
Date: 1770.

The inscription on this print appears to be by an early collector who had access to *banzuke* of the performance here commemorated. According to KN 4, p. 137, the play from the fifth month at the Nakamuraza was *Jūban-giri* (i.e. a Soga play), but no details of the rôles are given, and the performance does not seem to be listed in other published sources. Segawa Kikunojō II died in 1772.
926.18.240


明和七寅夏
中村座
瀬川菊之丞
市川高麗蔵
一筆斎
文調画

54

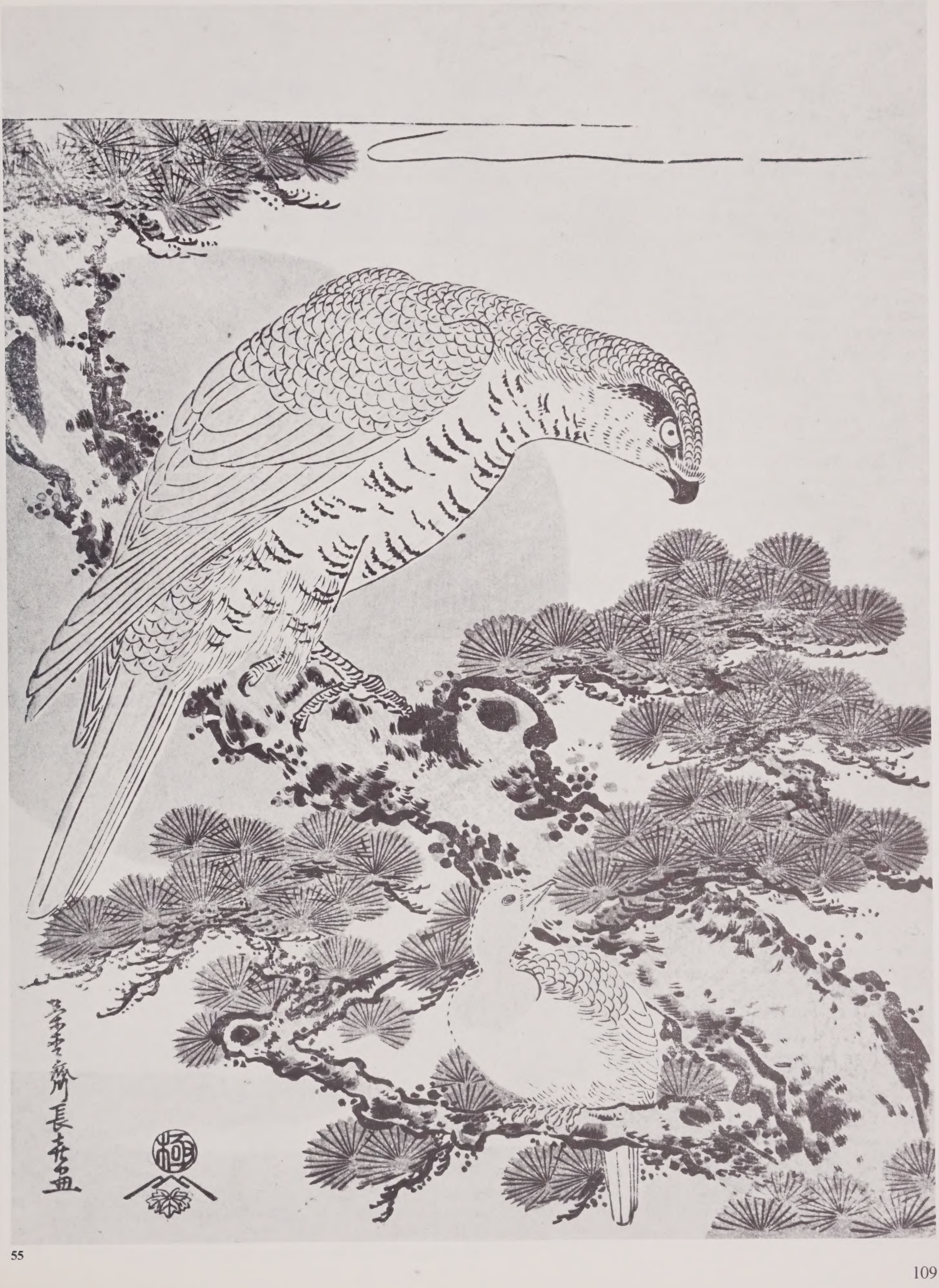
55 **Chōki.** A hawk gazing intently at a dove perched below it on the same pine tree. In the background, a large red sun.

chūban, 25.7 x 19.0; censorship seal *kiwame.*
Signature: *Eishōsai Chōki ga.*
Publisher: trademark of Tsutaya Jūsaburō.
Date: *c.* 1795.

Chōki is an artist whose works have been much admired but little studied. His output is comparatively small, and his prints seem to have been issued in fairly small editions. Critics see in him the influence of Kiyonaga (the first character of his name is the same, and it has even been conjectured that he was a pupil); of Utamaro (in his prints of beauties); and of Sharaku (in his actor-prints for a performance of *Chūshingura*: e.g. Walker coll., 926.18.362). He also did perspective prints in the manner of Toyoharu, and a few *hashira-e* (e.g. Walker coll., 926.18.434); and the composition of his prints is sometimes quite adventurous.

It is known that he was a pupil of Toriyama Sekien (1710-88), Utamaro's mentor; and that he was already illustrating *kyōka* poem-books by about 1760. He first used the name *Hyakusen Shikō,* and changed to *Chōki* only in the 1780s; about 1796 he reverted to Shikō; then in about 1801 became Chōki again. After 1796 he seems to have turned out very little work. It is also known that he was adopted into the Owariya tea-house on Nakanochō in the Yoshiwara, before which he lodged with Tsutaya Jūsaburō, who should probably be regarded as Chōki's patron and who published some of his best work. (Many of these details are taken from Yoshida, 1965-71, and I have not been able to verify them.)

The Walker print – of which I have discovered no other impressions – probably belongs to the same period as a famous design by Chōki of a girl watching the sun rise in a mica-coloured sky by the sea (cf. Stern, 1969, Pl. 134), though the form of the signature is somewhat different.
926.18.361



55

Eishi

56 **Eishi.** *Seirō niwaka ueki-uri,* "Plant-selling, in the *Yoshiwara niwaka* dance." A group of *otokogeisha,* male *geisha,* performing a fan dance beneath lanterns inscribed with the character *mai,* "dance." The names of seven of the eight dancers are given: *Yao, Tomi, Ine, Hichi, Hide, Kono, Ren.* In front of them stand two trays fitted with bamboo and rope and a transverse carrying-pole and bearing pots of flowers.

ōban, 38.1 x 25.4; censorship seal *kiwame.*
Signature: *Eishi ga.*
Publisher: seal *Iwa* of Iwatoya Kisaburō (Eirindō).
Date: middle 1790s.

Appearances often suggest that Tokugawa society was rigidly stratified, but in the history of eighteenth-century culture there are several refreshing instances to the contrary. Hosoda Eishi (1756-1829) was the eldest son of a fairly senior government official, a Bakufu finance commissioner, and for three years he himself worked as a junior official, under Tokugawa Ieharu (*shōgun,* 1760-86), with responsibility for personal effects of the dictator. In the course of this work he dealt with the *shōgun's* collection of paintings, and was rewarded with the name *Eishi.* He also studied painting himself with Kanō Michinobu (1730-90). It is said that ill-health caused him to resign his post: but he was meanwhile developing a taste for *ukiyoe,* and studied with Bunryūsai (an obscure artist of the Torii line), from whom he derived his studio name *Chōbunsai.*

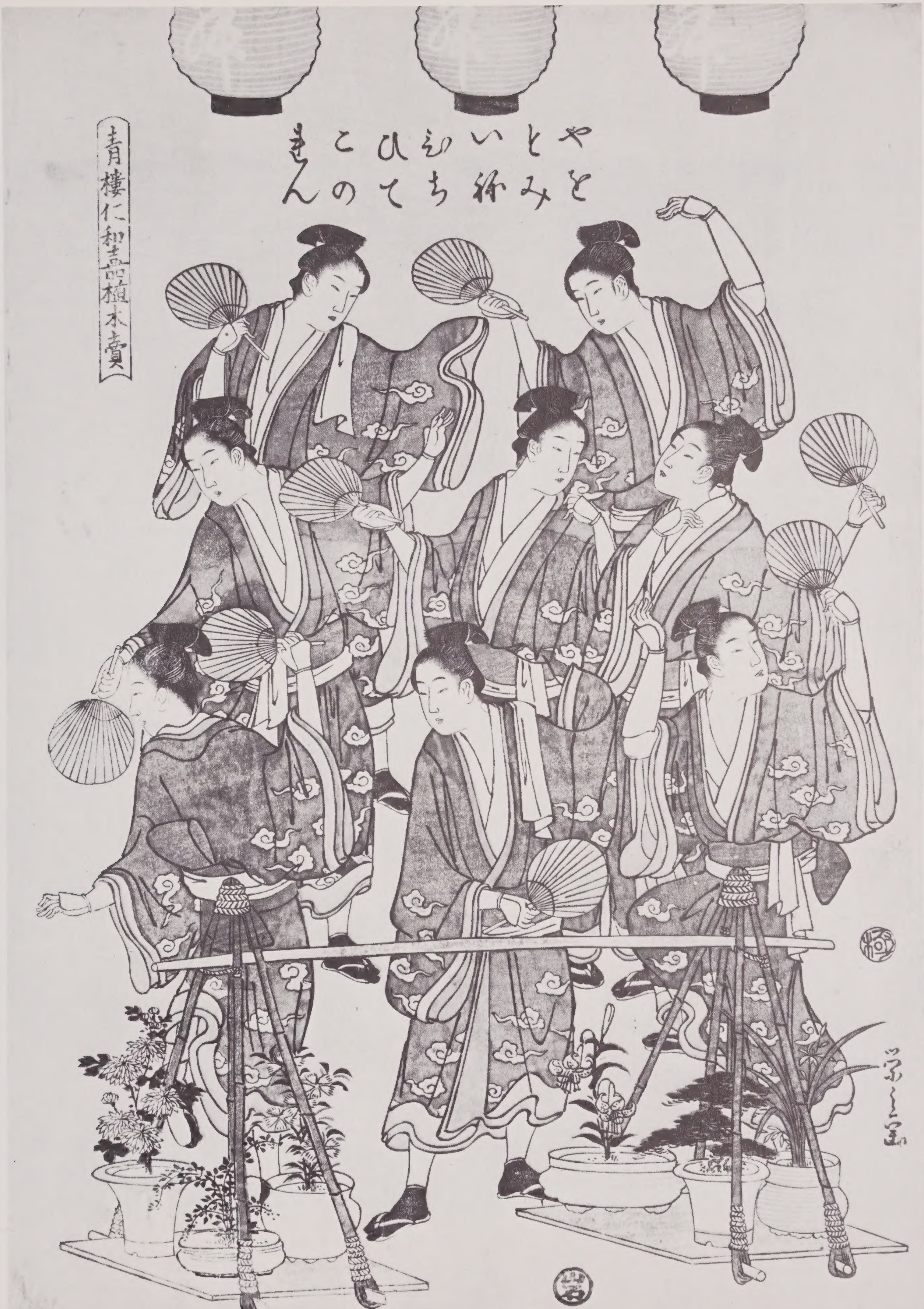
Eishi went on to become one of the most successful print-makers of the day, and from 1785 at least he also illustrated numbers of books: but he continued to paint, and in 1800 he was commissioned to do a landscape of the Sumida River, for the visit to Edo of Prince Myōhōin-no-miya, who showed the painting to the Emperor on his return to Kyōto. The Emperor had the painting deposited in the Sentō Palace, and Eishi thereafter used the seal *Tenran,* "Observed by Heaven," on his work. After about 1800 he is said to have abandoned print-making to devote himself exclusively to painting; and since he had an inherited income of 500 *koku,* he could afford to do so. He had many pupils and followers, among whom the best known are Eishō and Eiri.

Eishi's prints and paintings have not been studied as closely as those of his contemporaries Kiyonaga and Utamaro, but all critics draw attention to their refined, elegant manner, which immediately connotes his upper-class background. It has also been said that he and Sharaku are the only *ukiyoe* artists who did not do *shunga.* Many of his prints reflect his knowledge of polite society, but he also portrayed well-known courtesans and the life of the Yoshiwara. The absence of any serious monograph on Eishi is a large gap in *ukiyoe* studies.

The Walker print seems to be from a series illustrating *niwaka* dancers. There is an earlier set by Eishi of different *niwaka* dances for the twelve months *(Seirō manzai niwaka),* of which one is illustrated in NHBZ 4, Pl. 147, and another is in the Walker collection (926.18.336). There is, however, a print by Kiyonaga which shows a very similar dance to that on the present Walker print – though the dancers are girls – and which is described by Miss Hirano (1939), No. 351, as *shinobu-uri,* "fern-vendors." The Kiyonaga print does not show any plants, but there exist other prints of the period in which plant-sellers are carrying their wares in a similar way. Kiyonaga did several prints of *niwaka* dancers; and we see them also on prints by Koryūsai (Gentles, 1965, pp. 239-40) and Utamaro (see No. 171 in this catalogue).

The history of the *niwaka* is somewhat obscure. Probably the most detailed study of it has been made by Ozaki Kyūya (1925), pp. 188-212, who has collected many early texts mentioning it. He concludes that it originated in the Ōsaka area (it is referred to in Saikaku's *Kōshoku ichidai otoko*), whence it spread to Edo, and particularly to the Yoshiwara. Alternative names for it are *Yoshiwara niwaka* and *niwaka kyōgen* (since often the dances were adaptations of Kabuki pieces). Two conflicting dates, 1734 and 1767, are given in the sources for the introduction of *Yoshiwara niwaka;* and Ozaki resolves the difficulty by dividing the history of the dance into three periods: (1) Early period, *c.* 1734: a dance by the courtesans themselves, in imitation of the Ōsaka-Kyōto *niwaka,* and performed in both spring and autumn; (2) Middle period, *c.* 1767: dances performed in the Yoshiwara by professional and semi-professional dancers *(odoriko, geiko* and *onna-geisha);* (3) Late period (1770s – 1850s): dances by *geisha* (male or female), and performed mostly or only during the eighth month of the year.

Thus there seem to have been intermissions in the history of the dance, and it is clear from a study of *ukiyoe* prints that it attained real popularity only after about 1780. Prints showing *niwaka* dancers, who often belonged to special troupes or were attached to particular brothels, generally give their names; and the prints seem to have been done for the most part in sets. 926.18.325


青樓仁和嘉植木賣
やと
とみ
いは
もち
ひて
この
きん
極
榮之画

56

57-9 **Eishi.** A young man of leisure being entertained by a group of *geisha.* He sits on a brocade cushion, a plate of fish on a table before him, while five girls minister to his needs, with *sake, shamisen,* a tray of snacks and a fan. Behind a screen (L), a dancer is making ready, with the aid of another girl, and a man-servant (has he been carrying the *shamisen* box behind him?) is watching the party in some awe through the mesh of the screen.

ōban, triptych, 38.0 x 74.6 (overall); censorship seal *kiwame* (on each sheet).

Signature: *Eishi zu* (on each sheet).

Publisher: seal *Iwa* of Iwatoya Kisaburō (Eirindō) (on each sheet).

Date: middle 1790s.

There is another, slightly later, impression of this triptych in the Walker collection (926.18.348); a third is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.4879-81 [Spaulding 2-13]); and the subject is illustrated in UT 7, Pl. 556; Sotheby (1914.6.5), No. 142 and Pl. XVII; Takahashi (1938), CPl. 21; Yoshida (1965-71), Vol. I, p. 130. 926.18.349

60-2 **Eishi.** Illustration to Chapter 7, *Momiji-no-ga,* "The Festival of Red Leaves," from the *Tale of Genji,* here portrayed in modern dress. The series title, *Fūryū yatsushi Genji,* "Fashionably Elegant Genji," appears on the RH sheet. A young nobleman is sitting out in his garden beneath an autumn maple tree, while beautiful maidens entertain him and perform *gagaku* music for him (the instruments are *shō, kakko* and *taiko*). In the background, we see the verandah of his residence.

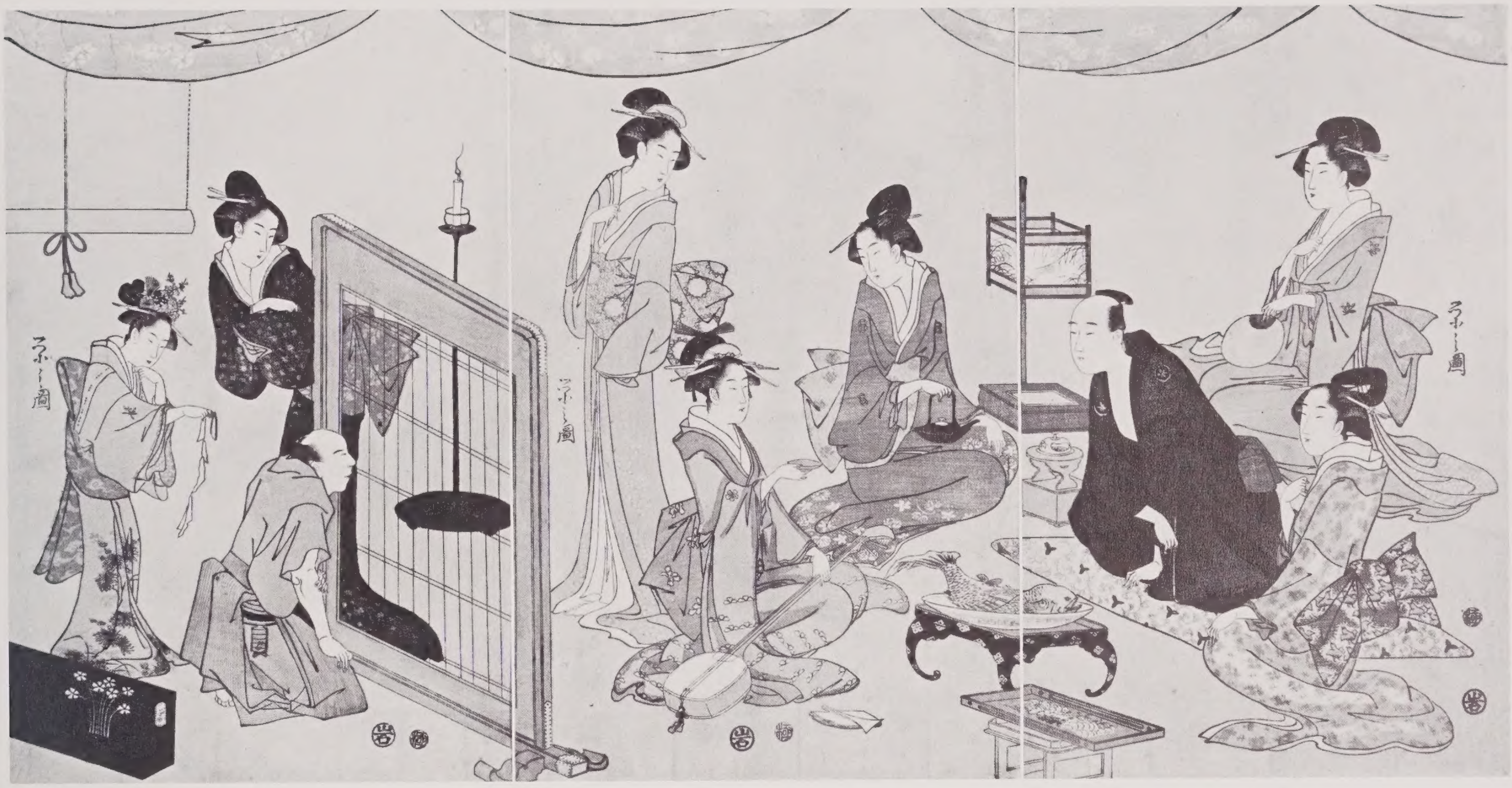
ōban triptych, 38.3 x 74.0 (overall); censorship seal *kiwame* (on each sheet).

Signature: *Eishi ga* (on each sheet).

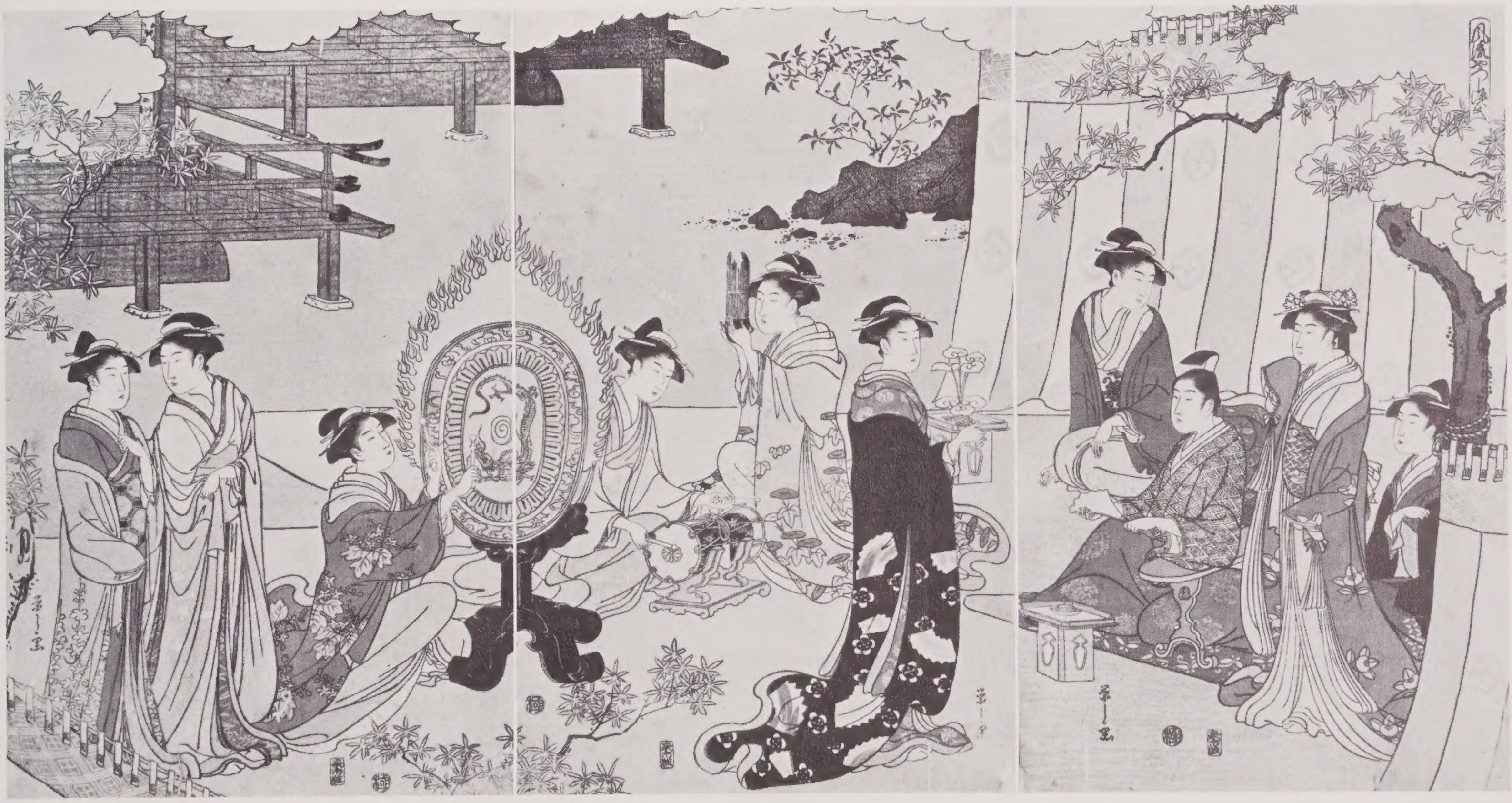
Publisher: trademark *Sen-Ichi han* of Izumiya Ichibei (Kansendō) (on each sheet).

Date: later 1790s.

Other specimens are in the British Museum (Binyon, 1916, B. 31) and in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.4853-5 [Spaulding 2-12]). Subject illustrated: Yoshida (1965-71), Vol. III, p. 150 (with four others of the set). Yoshida gives the titles of the individual triptychs as: *Hana no en; Suma; Momiji-no-ga; Matsukaze; Asagao; Hotaru; Wakana.* One common meaning of *yatsushi* in *ukiyoe* contexts is "contracted," "abreviated": so it is not necessary to suppose Eishi intended illustrations for all fifty-four chapters of the novel. The set perhaps ranks as his masterpiece in prints; and it well exemplifies the sophisticated blend of social levels and of artistic approaches which we see in his work. 926.18.350



57-9



60-2

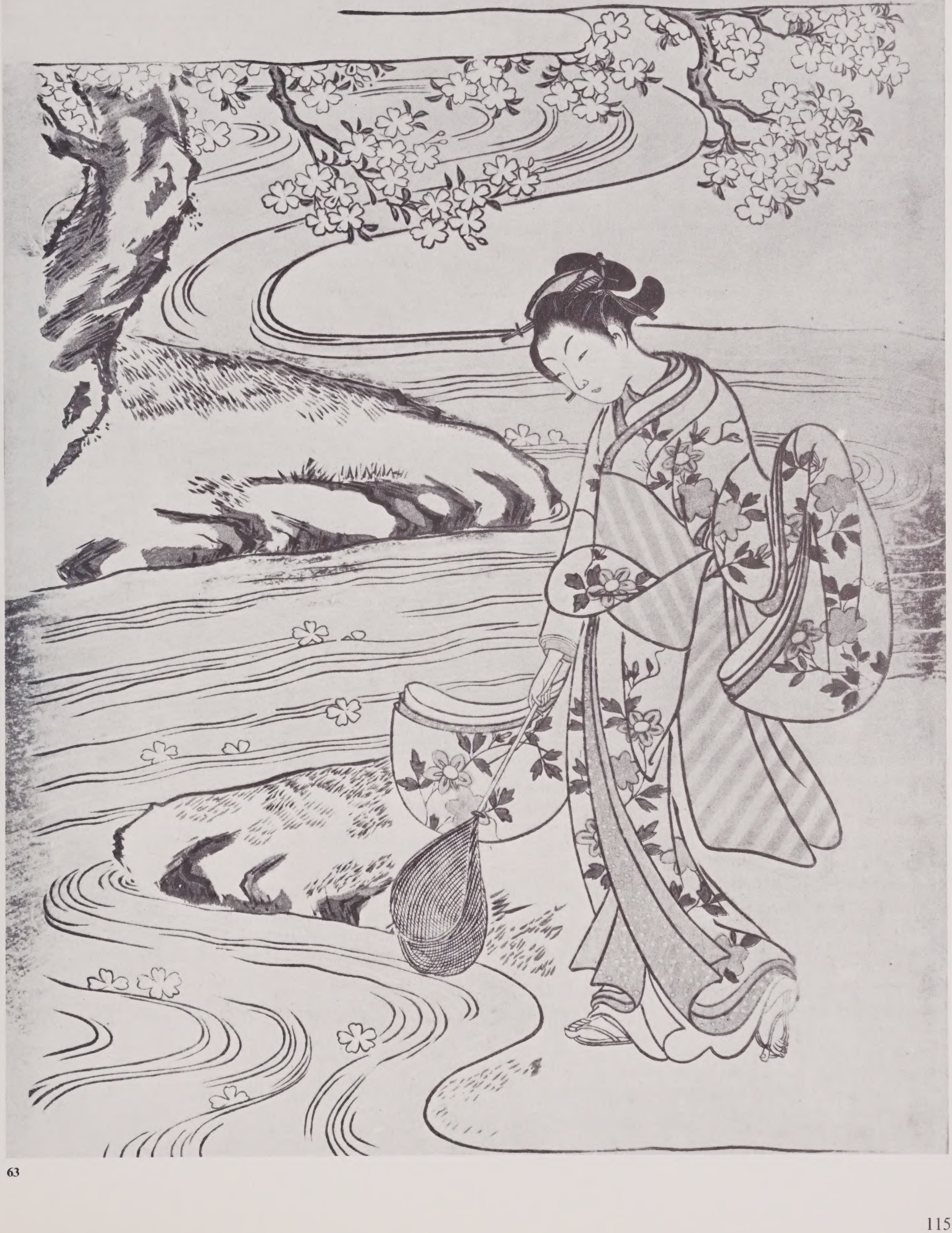
63 **Harunobu.** Catching fallen blossoms from a stream with a fish net.

chūban, 28.5 x 21.7; 7(?) colour blocks, overprinting.
Unsigned.
Date: *c.* 1766.

Another specimen in MFAB: 21.4967 (Spaulding 4-10). Subject illustrated: Murata (1919), No. 45; Yoshida (1942), Pl. 224. A later state with the signature *Suzuki Harunobu ga* is illustrated in UT 5, Pl. 393. Cf. also Gookin (1908), No. 114.

The flowering branch (TR) reappears in another print by Harunobu, in which a girl is sweeping up petals with a brush: cf. Gentles (1965), pp. 117-18.

Suzuki Harunobu (1725?-70) leaped to fame in 1765 with his delicate and technically advanced colour prints of the life of courtesans and other girls. He took many of his ideas from earlier men, especially the Kyōto artist Nishikawa Sukenobu, but the synthesis is entirely his own, and Harunobu's work impresses above all for its superb sense of design. Not counting book illustrations, he turned out over a thousand prints, mostly within a period of six years. 926.18.117



63

64 **Harunobu** (attr.). The courtesan Hinazuru flying on the back of a crane, and bringing New Year greetings from the Chōjiya. She holds a long letter-scroll which reads *Shin Yoshiwara, Edo-machi, Ni-chōme. Chōjiya-uchi medetaku kashiko,* "Respectful greetings from the Chōjiya, at 2-*chōme,* Edo-machi, New Yoshiwara"; and, in reverse, . . . *-nu yori (?) Hinazuru + kakihan* (cf. the Yoshinobu print referred to below). The background is formed by the sun rising above the waves of the sea; and above a stylised cloud line are inscribed the names of Chōjiya courtesans of *yobidashi* grade. The symbols above each girl's name indicate her fee, as it is shown in guides to the Yoshiwara: thus, all except the last two girls, who are one price lower, are in the most expensive class. We are also given the names of each girl's attendant *shinzō* (two for each, except that the last two girls rate only one apiece); and, at the end, the name of the manageress, or *yarite,* who is called *Saki.*

The names of the girls are as follows:

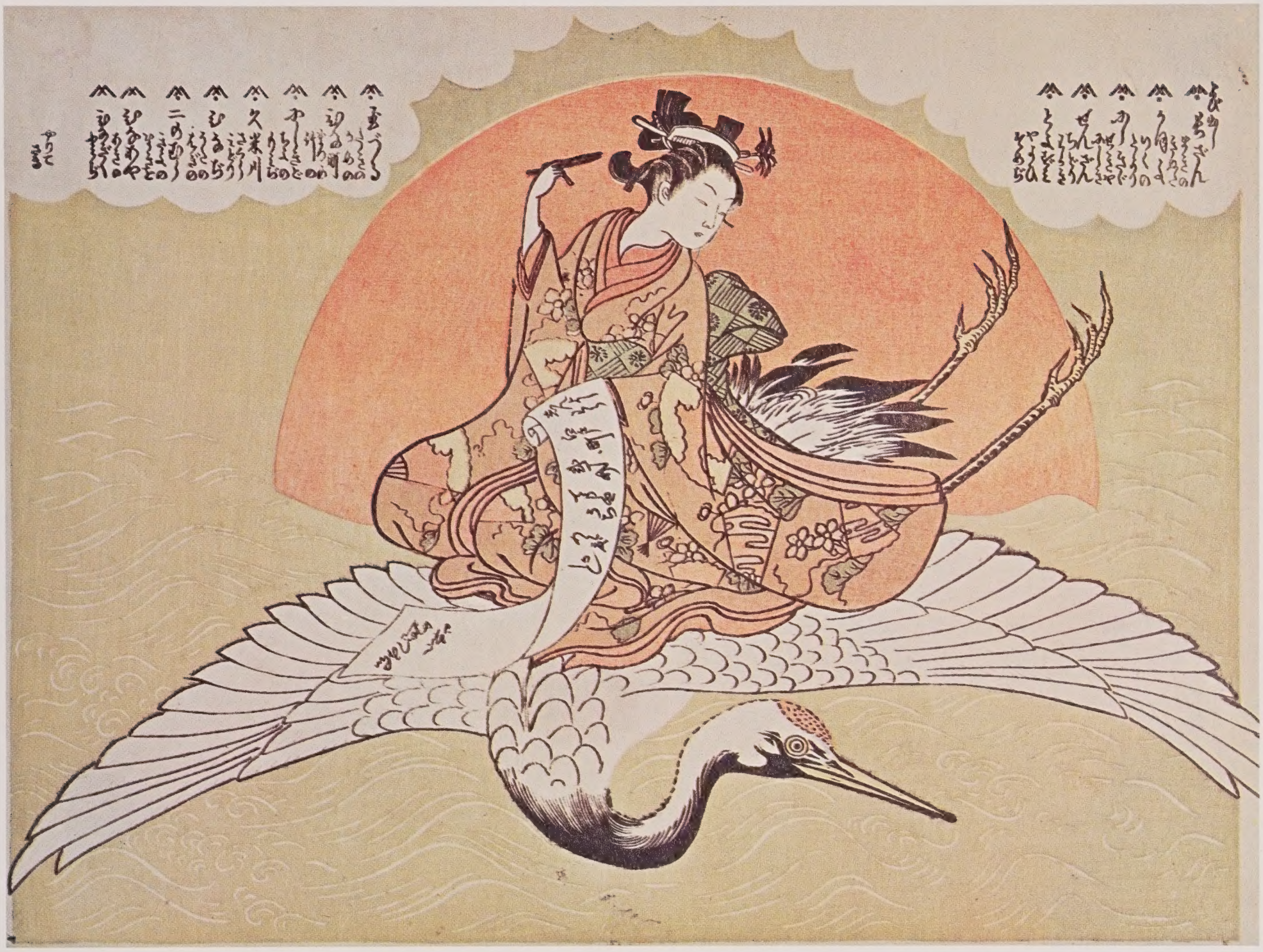
Chōzan, attended by	*Makino* and *Kinuta*
Kazuko,	*Ikuno* and *Tayori*
Nishikigi,	*Sekiya* and *Nishiki*
Senzan,	*Chidori* and *Wakaki*
Toyozumi,	*Yayoi* and *Someji*
Tamazuru,	*Takino* and *Kameno*
Hinamachi,	*Matsuno* and *Takeno*
Nishikido,	*Chono* and *Momiji*
Kumegawa,	*Sakura* and *Midori*
Hinaji,	*Utano* and *Hagino*
Ninomura,	*Chono* and *Makio*
Hinaaya,	*Akino*
Minagiku,	*Fumiji*

chūban yokoe, 19.8 x 26.4; 5? colour blocks.
Unsigned.
Date: *c.* 1766.

This specimen: Waterhouse (1917), Pl. 6. The only other print of this kind which is known to me is one by Komai Yoshinobu, illustrated in UZ 2, Pl. 38 and datable to about 1770. Yoshinobu's print gives names of the most expensive girls from the Ōgiya, introduced by Matsukaze, who was a well-known courtesan of *that* establishment; and in form, though not in design, it follows the same pattern as the Walker print, even to identifying on a love-letter the name of the house and the girl illustrated. Kondō Ichitarō (who knew only of the Yoshinobu print) speculated that there may have been others of this type: and it makes sense to regard these prints as souvenirs or New Year greetings given by the brothels to favoured clients. For the Chōjiya, cf. No. 87.

Although the Walker print is unsigned, there is little doubt that it is by Harunobu. One may compare a calendar print of 1765 illustrated by Gookin (1921), No. 250 and Pl.; an early Harunobu New Year design, illustrated in Hōchi Shimbunsha (1928), p. 53, has a screen with a similar bird against the background of a rising sun; the same bird, carrying a girl, re-appears in a Harunobu print in the Art Institute of Chicago (Gentles, 1965, No. 76); and, reversed, it was later used by Harunobu in a *hashira-e* design (Lieftinck, 1938, No. 210). In all these cases, the figure of the girl is a *mitate* of the Taoist sage Wang Tzu-ch'iao, who invariably rode on a white crane.

Yobidashi courtesans, who are first heard of *c.* 1660, were by the middle 1760s the top grade in the Yoshiwara, the older senior grades of *tayū* and *kōshi* having died out – partly because nobody could afford them. *Yobidashi,* as their name, "those who go out and summon," implies, used to solicit custom through the *ageya* tea-houses. When parading through the streets on such missions, they were accompanied by their *shinzō,* their *kamuro* and other servants, and by the *yarite,* who was usually an elderly retired courtesan. 926.18.125

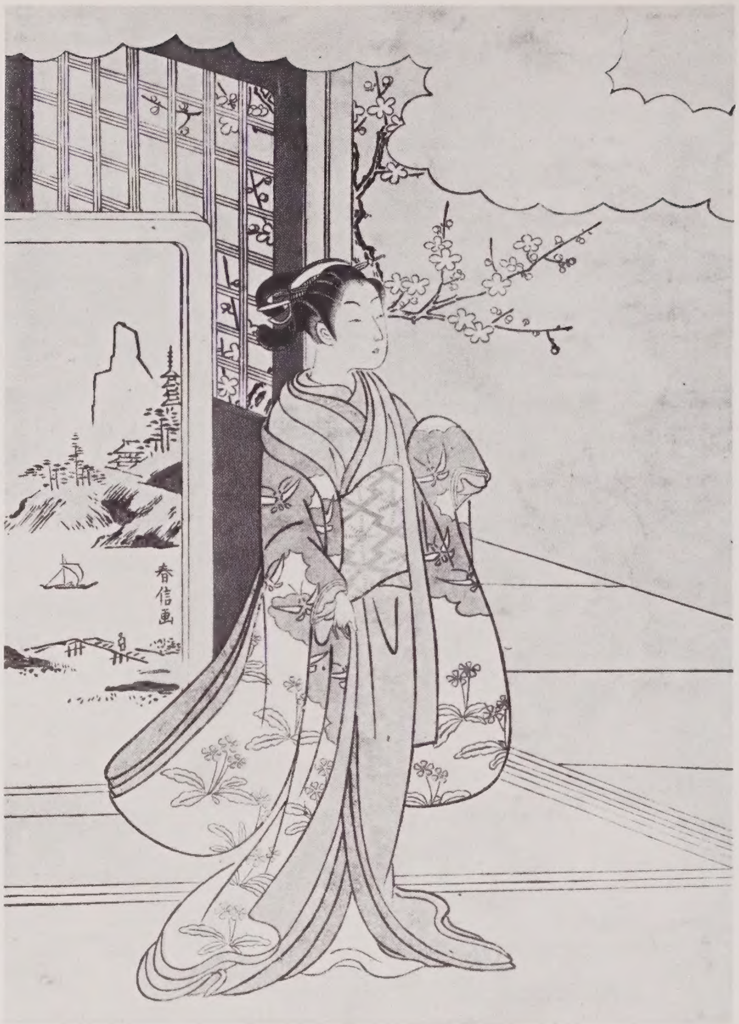


64

65 **Harunobu.** A girl standing by an open verandah on a moonlit night in spring. She is gazing out, lost in thought.

chūban, 28.0 x 19.6; 6(?) colour blocks; faded; sides trimmed.
Signature: *Harunobu ga* (on the landscape screen behind the girl).
Date: *c.* 1766.

There are at least three versions of this design, of which the Walker print seems to be the earliest. Another, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFAB: 21.4653 [Spaulding 4-11]) has more brilliant colouring, and shows more clearly the moon (TR). Cf. also Yoshida (1942), Pl. 311. Boston also possesses a still later, third version (MFAB: 11.19502). 926.18.99



65

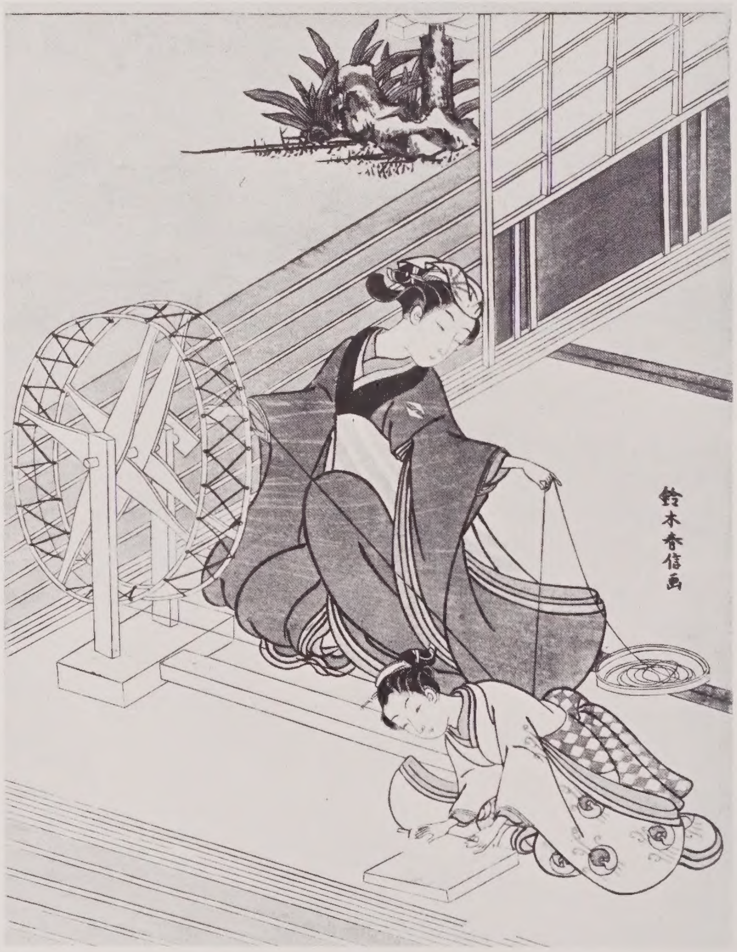
66 **Harunobu.** A girl spinning thread, while her maid prepares the flax.

chūban, 28.8 x 21.5; 8(?) blocks, *karazuri.*
Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1766-67.

This specimen: Waterhouse (1971), Pl. 1. Almost the same girl, spinning wheel and setting can be seen in a calendar for 1765 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.30125), which is unsigned, but has the seal *Kinkaku* (probably one of the amateurs who commissioned it). However, it can be shown that both the spinning wheel and the girl operating it are taken from Sukenobu's *Onna ichidai fūzoku ehon masu kagami* (3 vols., Kyōto, 1748), Vol. [I], fol. 8a; while the maid rolling flax comes from the page overleaf (fol. 8b). (There are copies of this work in the Metropolitan Museum of Art [No. 34] and in the Philadelphia Museum of Art: see Waterhouse, Pl. 2, 3).

The Walker print is a good illustration of how one of Harunobu's best designs is almost completely unoriginal in the elements of which it is composed, but forms a most satisfying whole, the geometrical shapes of the spinning wheel and the architecture contrasting with the flowing lines of the drapery.

The simple spinning wheel, or *itokuri,* portrayed here is seen in many other prints and illustrated books of the period. There is another Harunobu spinning wheel in the Fogg Art Museum (1933.4.2624 [Duel 100]), which shows a similar composition to the Walker print, but *in reverse,* and which is probably a later design. Cf. also Getz (1925), No. 112 and Pl. For another Sukenobu spinning wheel, cf. *Ehon chiyo migusa* (1750), Vol. III, fol. 9a. 926.18.105



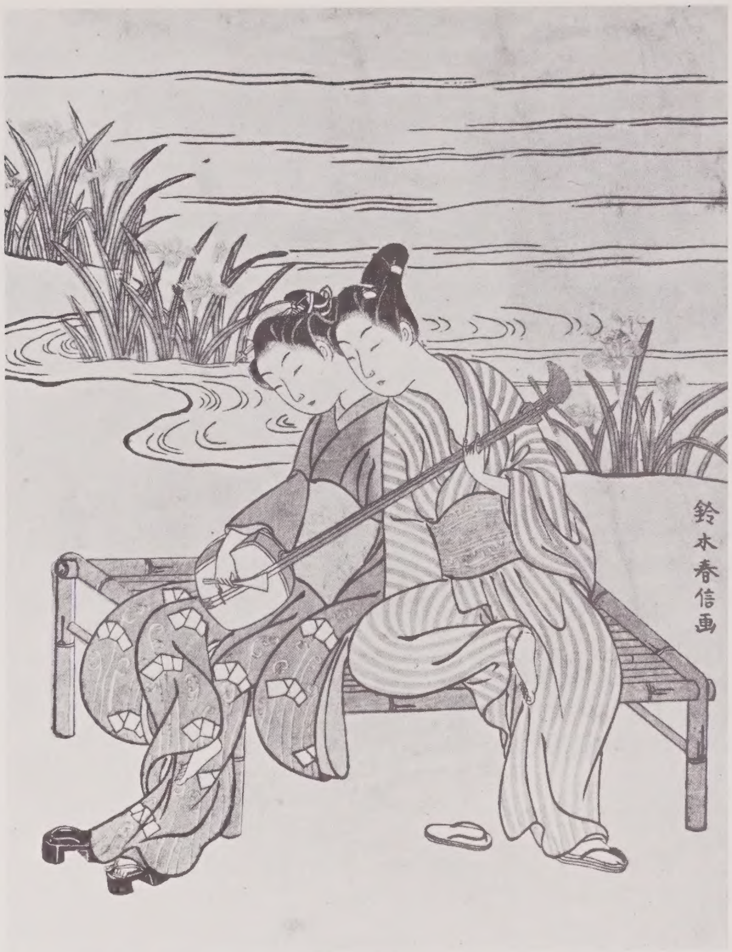
66

67 **Harunobu.** Two lovers playing a single *shamisen.*

chūban, 25.4 x 19.2; 6(?) colour blocks, overprinting.
Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1766-68.

Other specimens: MFAB: 21.4641 (Spaulding 4-11); Gale collection (Ledoux 1945, No. 13 and Pl.; Gentles, 1964, No. 54 and Pl.). Subject illustrated: Murata (1919), No. 47; UT 5, Pl. 348; UTS 5, CPl. 16; Noguchi (1940), Pl. 48; Yoshida (1942), Pl. 5. There is a second state of this print, with different *kimono* designs, in the Art Institute of Chicago: cf. Gentles (1965), p. 76 and Pl.

Harunobu also depicted two lovers playing a single flute: for two such designs (related to each other), cf. Waterhouse (1964), No. 15 and Pl., and Gentles (1965), p. 60 and Pl. The allusion in all these cases is to the T'ang Emperor Hsüan-tsung and his concubine Yang Kuei-fei. 926.18.120

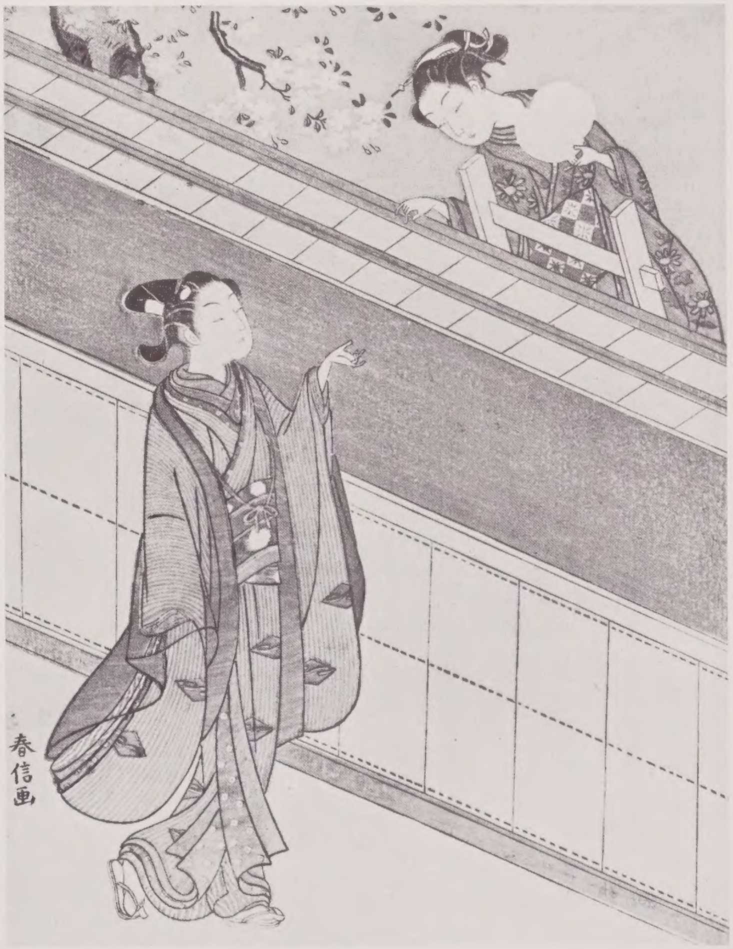


67

68 **Harunobu.** Recovering a football.

chūban, 21.1 x 20.4; 7(?) colour blocks, overprinting, *karazuri.*
Signature: *Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1766-68.

Other specimens in AIC (Gentles, 1965, p. 83) and BM (Waterhouse, 1964, No. 43: with further references). Subject also illustrated: UT 4, Pl. 22. Boston has a later state of this print, with a new outline for the football, and no *karazuri* (MFAB: 21.4477 [Spaulding 4-12]). 926.18.104



68

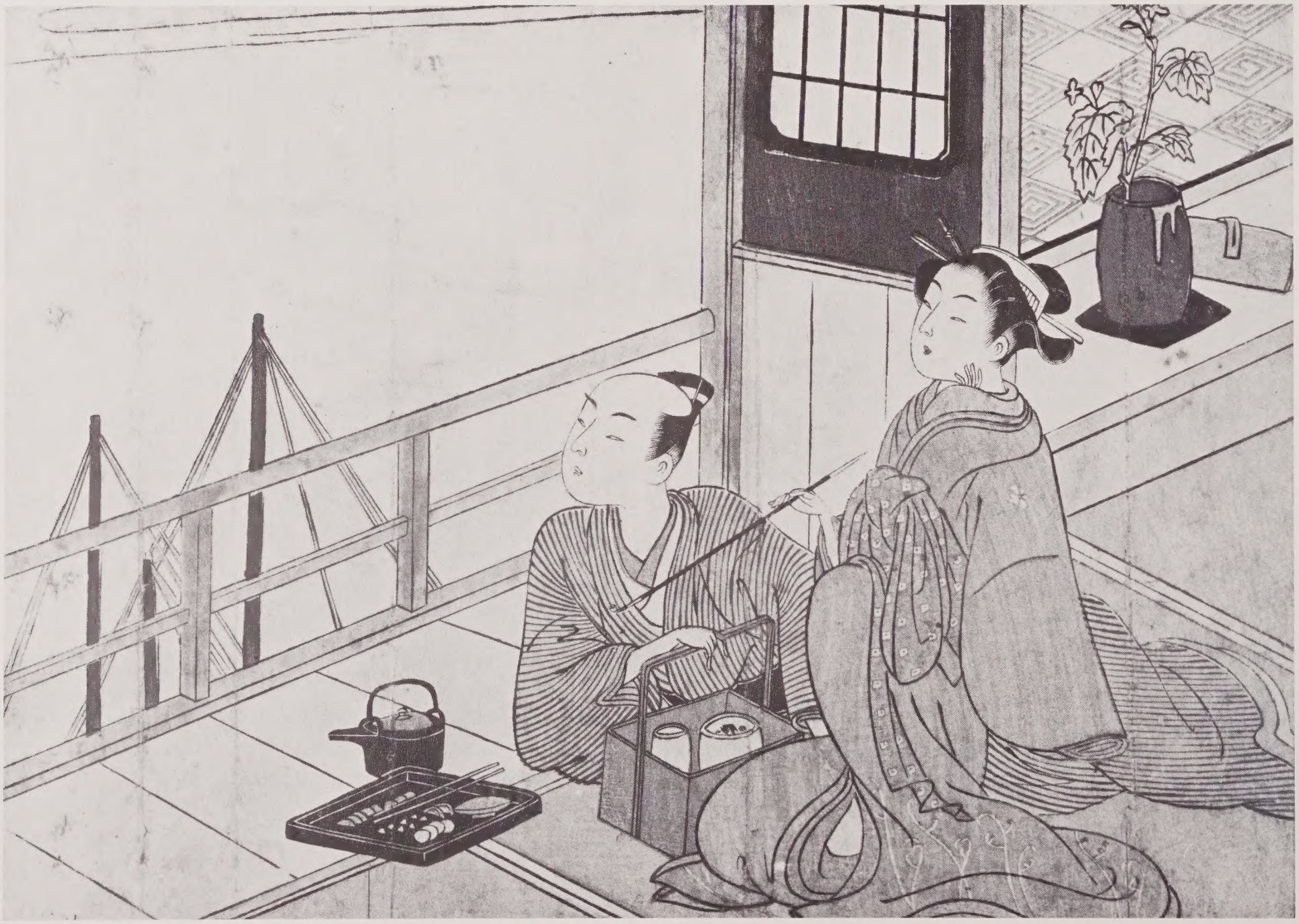
69 **Harunobu.** "Snow, Moon and Flowers." A courtesan and her client reclining at ease on a balcony overlooking the Sumida River, in which the moon is reflected. The masts of two ships are visible through the balcony railing. Behind the couple is an alcove with a flower in a vase; in front of them a tea-pot and a tray with radishes and other snacks.

yokoe, 18.1 x 26.0; 8(?) colour blocks; much trimmed (T,R,B).
Unsigned.
Date: 1766-68.

Another specimen in the British Museum (1937.7.10.042: Ricketts and Shannon Collection). Subject illustrated: Ficke (1925), No. 65 and Pl.; Yoshida (1942), Pl. 648.

The title label of this print, *Setsugekka,* "Snow, Moon and Flowers," has been cut off at the right. Snow, moon and flowers are three objects which, over the course of the year, it is pleasant to spend time contemplating. The print is usually described as one of a set of three, but since the moon and a flower are both shown, and since *yuki,* meaning "snow," is also used to mean "radish," the print is probably complete in itself. The format, however, suggests that it comes from an album. 926.18.119

69

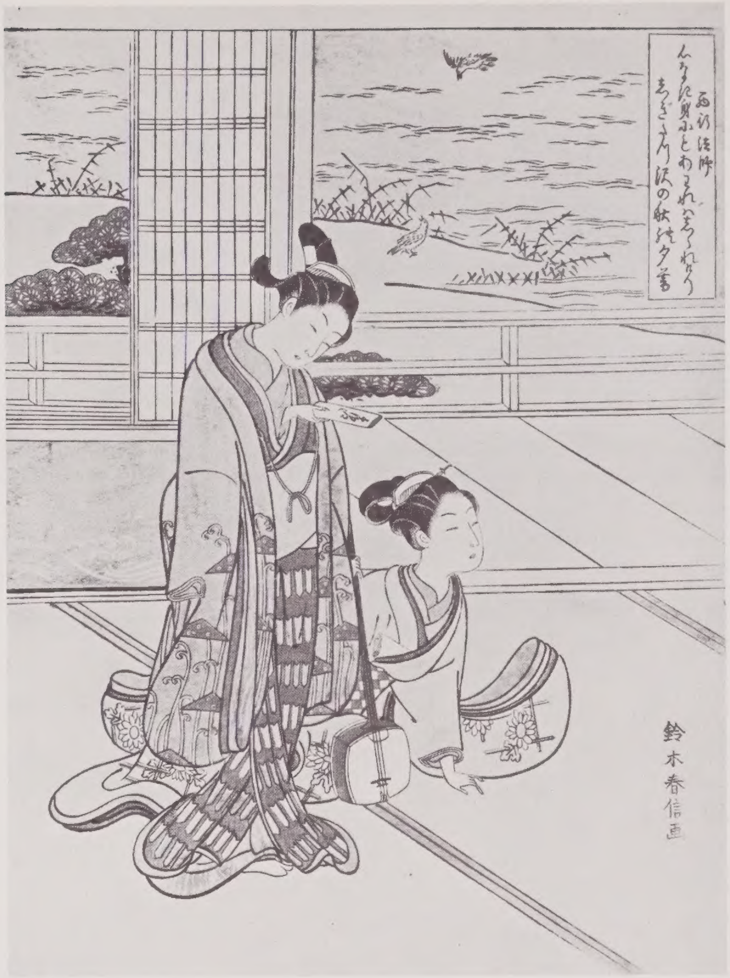


70 **Harunobu.** Two girls, one with a *shamisen,* the other with a love-letter, in a room overlooking a marsh with snipe. The poem, by Saigyō Hōshi, is the second of the *sanseki no uta* quoted on No. 32 in this catalogue.

chūban, 28.0 x 20.8; 7 colour blocks, overprinting, *karazuri.*
Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1766-68.

Others illustrated: Waterhouse (1964), Pl. 30; Jenkins (1967), Fig. 5; Bremen Art Museum (1922), No. 18.

The present writer has shown that this print, and two others which form a set with it, are based on a single page in Sukenobu's *Ehon Yamato hiji* (1735-42), Vol. I, and that there is another set of three *chūban* designs by Harunobu also drawn from this source. This finding can now be amplified in the light of further research. There is an even earlier undivided *hosoe* three-colour triptych by Harunobu in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.19703), showing the entire page from *Ehon Yamato hiji,* but with three figures in the foreground, and the three poems quoted on panels, together with portraits of the poets. This print was published by Nishinomiya, and is signed *Suzuki Harunobu ga* on each leaf. There is also an undivided *hosoe* triptych which closely resembles it, by Toyonobu (publ. Urokogataya): this is illustrated in UT 3, Pl. 20, and plainly it too is derived from Sukenobu's book. 926.18.113



70

71 **Harunobu.** A youth on a long-tailed tortoise as Urashima Tarō. A poem (T) reads:

unabara ya	The expanse of ocean! –
kaze osamareru	and the wind lies calm over
nami no ue ni	its rippling wavelets:
omou mo tōshi	just to think of it is vast
miyo no yukusue	– as the future of our age!

chūban, 28.0 x 20.7; 7 colour blocks, overprinting; trimmed (L,T).

Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*

Date: *c.* 1767.

In many countries of Europe and Asia there are legends of a magic sleep lasting for years (Aarne-Thompson, No. 766). The legend of Urashima Tarō, the Rip van Winkle of Japan, first appears in the *Nihongi* (Vol. XIV), the *Man-yōshū* (Vol. IX) and other early sources, and it has been suggested (Nakayama, 1941, Vol. I, p. 256) that it was transmitted to Japan from Korea. The version best known today derives from an *otogi-zōshi,* or "bed-time story," of the Muromachi period (see edd. by Ichiko Teiji, 1958, pp. 337-45, and Yokoyama Shigeru, 1962, Vol. v, pp. 199-221).

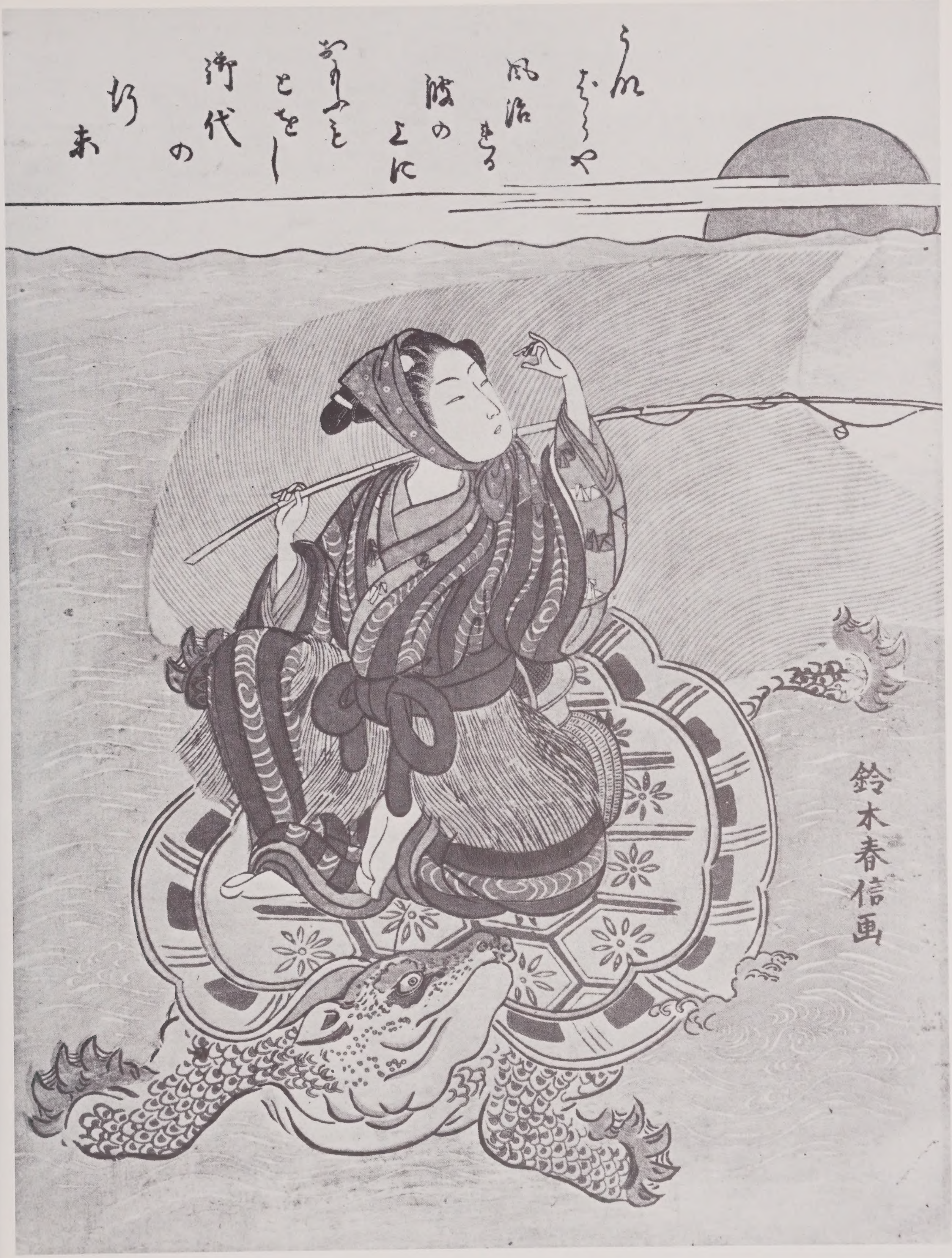
There are also illustrated handscroll versions, of which the earliest surviving, the *Urashima-jin emaki,* at the Ura Shrine in Tango, probably dates from the fifteenth century. The *otogi* version was also illustrated, in a rough Yamato-e style, in *Nara ehon* of the seventeenth century (see Yokoyama, *loc. cit.*). Nearer Harunobu's time the following items may be mentioned: an *aohon* edition of 1758, *Urashima shichise no mago,* with illustrations by Torii Kiyoshige; a *kurohon* published in 1765 with the title *Urashima Kanzeon meigyoku shusse kame;* and *Urashima Tarōbē Ryūgū kan,* by Kubota Shunman, with illustrations by Kitao Sanjirō (i.e. Masayoshi). An undated illustrated book, *Urashima monogatari,* probably belongs to the 1750s.

There are also numerous stage adaptations: for example, a Nō play, *Urashima;* a puppet play, *Urashima nendaiki,* by Chikamatsu (first performed in 1700?); and in 1769 (seventh month), the Ichimura-za in Edo presented a *nagauta* called *Urashima yachigo no tsurizao,* as part of the play *Ichi no tomi Seiwa nendaiki* (KN 4, p. 112; KND, p. 320).

The *otogi* version of the Urashima legend, which is not necessarily followed in detail by all of the above, is roughly as follows. A young fisherman of Tango province, called Urashima Tarō (the name Tarō does not appear earlier than the *otogi* version), one day fished up a turtle on his line. He decided not to keep it, but cast it back into the sea. Next day he was out walking by the sea, and was amazed to see a small boat floating on the waves, with a beautiful girl in it alone. She is a transformation of the magic turtle, and has come to reward Urashima for his kindness. She does not reveal her identity, however, but simply asks him to escort her home, since she cannot sail the boat by herself. After a long voyage, they arrive at the Dragon King's Palace beneath the sea, and she invites him to marry her. The palace is a garden of delights, and he lives happily with her for three years: but eventually he decides to return home, and is given a precious box, which must not be opened. He arrives in his village again, to find that he has been away for seven hundred years. He then decides to open the box, thinking that he has nothing more to lose; whereupon a violet cloud emerges from it, transforming him instantly into an aged man; and he dies on the spot. But his spirit takes wing as a crane (like the turtle, a symbol of longevity) and flies off into the sky to join his terrapin bride for a life of eternal bliss.

Harunobu's print thus draws on a well-known tale, which had, moreover, often been illustrated in popular Yamato-e. A calendar print for 1765, with the same subject but a different design, is probably also by Harunobu, though it is unsigned (MFAB: 21.4594 [Spaulding 4-9]; see also Gookin, 1922a, No. 54). One may also compare a fine *hashira-e* design by Kiyomitsu (Sotheby, 1920.5.31, No. 20 and Pl. III). Other specimens of the Walker design are in the Art Institute of Chicago (Gentles, 1965, p. 53) and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.4632 [Spaulding 4-14]: probably later colouring). There is also a *hashira-e* version by Harunobu (Gentles, 1965, p. 79).

The poem on this print does not occur in the *otogi* version of the Urashima story. It was a poem of Felicitations on Reaching the Sea, composed by the Lay Monk Tokiwa-i, Formerly Prime Minister of State, and was included in the imperial anthology *Zoku shūi waka-shū* (completed 1278). It contrives to combine a compliment to the longevity of the imperial house with exclamations over the scenery, and no doubt Harunobu thought it was an appropriate verse to head a print designed for presenting to somebody when wishing him a long life. 926.18.110

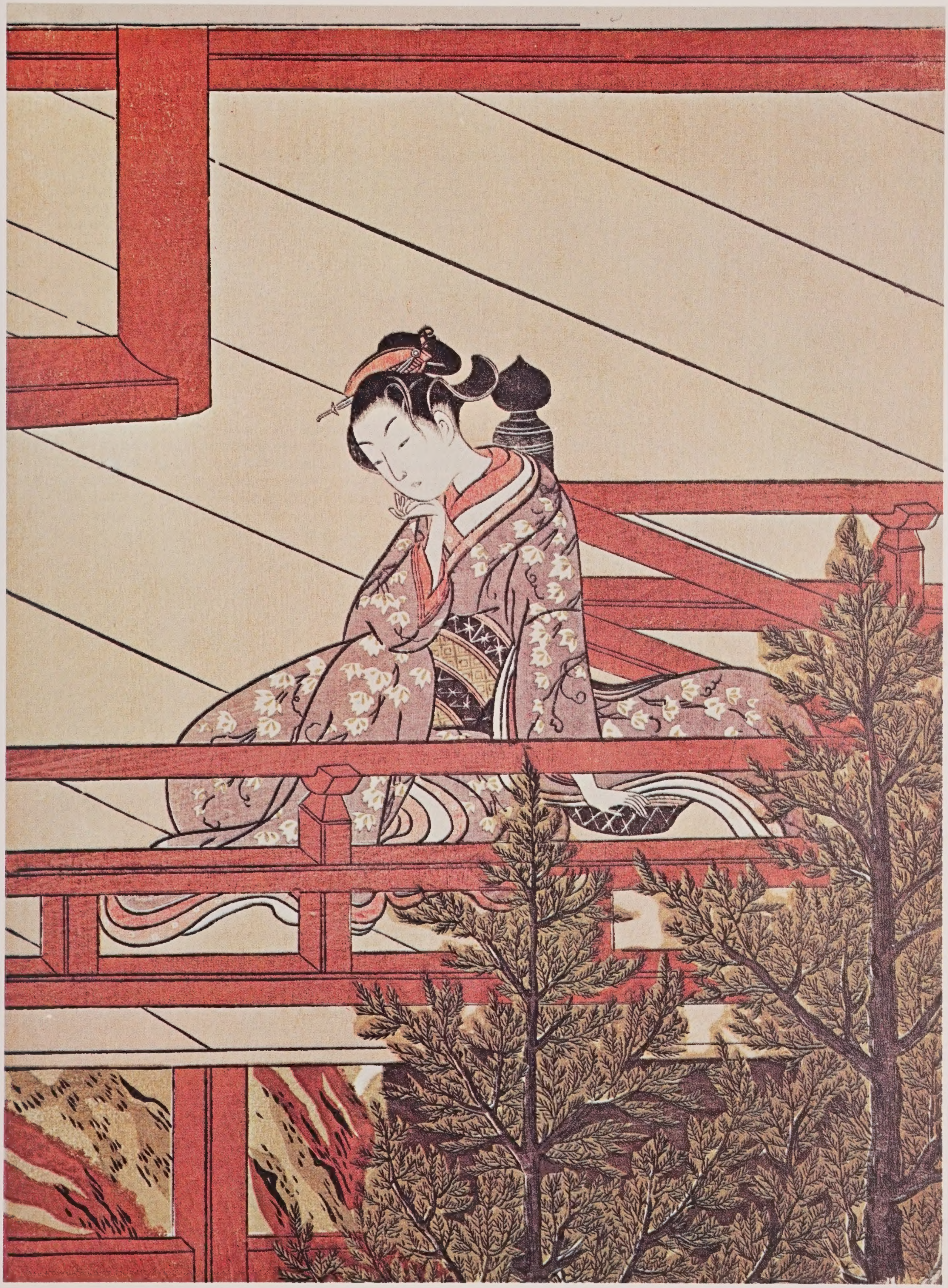

うれしさや
風治まる
波の上に
おりふをとをし
御代の
行末
鈴木春信画

71

72 **Harunobu.** Girl on the verandah of Kiyomizudera in Kyōto – perhaps deciding whether to leap over the edge, as a test of love.

chūban, 28.2 x 20.5; 7 colour blocks.
Unsigned.
Date: 1767-68 (if not a posthumous edition).

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.13437) possesses the first state of this print, a calendar for 1766: it is signed *Harunobu ga,* and has calendrical marks on the girl's *obi* and on the black baluster behind her head. The second state, with signature and calendrical marks removed, is to be found in several collections, and may have been issued many years later. See, for example, MFAB: 21.4394 (Spaulding 4-9), and AIC (Gentles, 1965, p. 30). Subject illustrated: Kurth (1910), Pl. 19; Yoshida (1942), Pl. 134.
926.18.122



72

73 **Harunobu.** Kumagae (R) and Atsumori on the beach near Ichi-no-tani, just before Kumagae cuts off Atsumori's head. Atsumori's helmet and sword lie at his feet.

chūban, 27.4 x 20.9; 6(?) colour blocks; some air-burning; stain (TL), repair (BR).
Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1767-69.

There are other specimens of this print in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.4630 [Spaulding 4-12]) and in the Fogg Art Museum (1933.4.2622 [Duel Coll.]). The subject is illustrated in Sotheby (1918.7.22), No. 17 and Pl. 1; Yoshida (1942), Pl. 56. One may also compare versions by Shunshō in *chūban* (TKH 1, Pl. 834) and in *hashira-e* (TKH 1, Pl. 956; Binyon, 1916, B.79) format. As one would expect, Harunobu's treatment is more placid and idealised. Both artists depict Kumagae holding a folding fan – the invention of which is traditionally ascribed to Atsumori's widow.

The story of Kumagae and Atsumori exists in many forms, but may best be told in the famous version of the *Heike monogatari,* Book IX (Takagi, 1960, Vol. II, pp. 219-22), "The Death of Atsumori."

When the Taira army had been defeated, Kumagae no Jirō Naozane said to himself, "It is likely that the lords of the House of Taira are going down to the water's edge to board their escape ships. Ah! What a fine thing it would be if I could have a fight with their General!" So he was proceeding towards the beach, when he saw a lone warrior on horseback. This man was wearing a loose-fitting coat embroidered in soft silk with a stork design, and a suit of armour whose lacing was subtly tinted with green. He had on a helmet surmounted by horns, its strings drawn tight, and he was girded with a sword decorated in gold; he bore on his back arrows that had white feathers variegated with black, and he carried a black-lacquered bow with white bindings – the kind appropriate to a general. His horse, which was a dappled grey, had a saddle adorned with gold.

His eyes were fastened on a boat that lay off-shore, and he had just entered the sea, and caused his horse to swim about two hundred yards, when Kumagae shouted: "You there! You look like a general! So you're the kind who shows his back to an enemy! Turn round!" He held up his fan and beckoned to the man who, being thus invited, turned his horse back. Just as he was about to come on shore, Kumagae charged alongside, closed forcefully with him, and fell heavily on him. He seized the man, and ripped off his helmet, in order to cut off his head; but when he looked at his opponent, he saw he was a youth of only sixteen or seventeen, with a lightly powdered face and blackened teeth. He was about the age of his own son Kōjirō, and his features were very fine, so that Kumagae did not know how to lift his sword.

"Before anything else tell me what manner of man you are! Tell me your name, for I would like to spare you!", he said: to which the youth responded by asking, "But who are *you*?" He said: "I am a person of no account: but my name is Kumagae no Jirō Naozane, and I reside in Musashi Province." The boy replied: "In that case I cannot give you my name: but I am a good capture for you! Even though I cannot give you my name, just take my head and ask anybody. They will recognise it!"

Kumagae thought to himself: "Ah! He is a general! But even if I strike down this one man, there is no way in which it will help us to victory over an army that will suffer defeat anyway. And if I do not strike him down, it will do nothing to further their defeat by an army that is going to win anyway. When I think how much pain I, Naozane, suffered when my Kōjirō injured himself but slightly, how much would the father of this young nobleman grieve, on learning that he had been struck down! Ah! How I want to spare his life!"

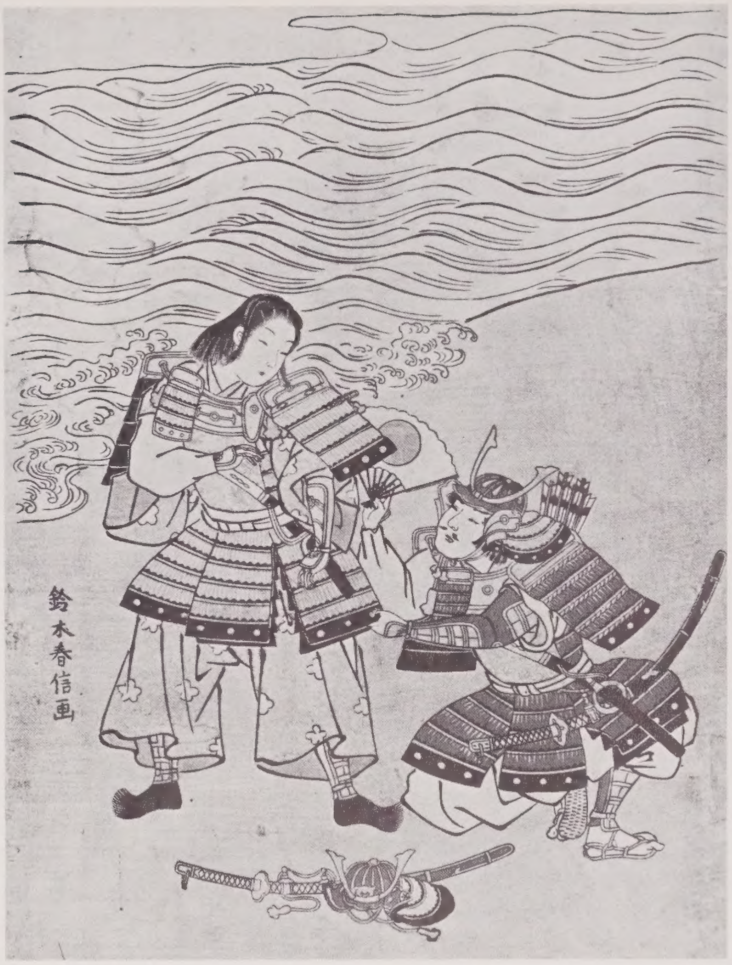
Just then he looked behind him, and saw Doi and Kajiwara converging on him with some fifty horsemen. Kumagae burst into tears and said, "Although I would dearly love to spare you, enemy troops are round you like mist or clouds. You will never be able to escape. Rather than let you fall into the hands of another, it is all the same that you have fallen into the hands of Naozane, and I promise faithfully to offer prayers for you in the life to come."

To these words the young man said, "Just cut off my head – quickly!" Kumagae was greatly affected, and did not know how to lift his sword. His eyes went dark, he was faint at heart, and he felt as though he could not tell front from rear: but at last, amid tears, for there could not be many who would be the equal of this youth, he cut off his head.

"Ah! No life is so full of sadness as that of him who takes up the bow and arrow! Because I was born into a military family, what grievous sights I have to see! How heartlessly I have struck him down!" Reiterating this agonised cry, he pressed his sleeve to his face and wept copiously. Presently, since nothing was to be gained by carrying on in this manner, he took the young man's armour and suit of clothes; and was about to wrap the head up when he noticed that the youth had a flute in a brocade bag tucked in at his waist. "Alas! The people who were making music this morning in the castle were this young man and his friends! At the present time there must be countless thousands of troops on our side from the eastern provinces, but there is probably not one among them who has brought a flute to the battlefield! These aristocrats are so much more refined than we are!"

When he came to have an audience with the Minamoto commander Kurō, everyone who saw these things was unable to restrain his tears. And, as he learnt later, the youth's name was Lord Atsumori, the son of Lord Tsunemori, Palace Minister of Works, and he was no more than seventeen years old. It was from this time that Kumagae turned his thoughts increasingly towards religion.

As for the flute, it was said that the boy's grandfather Tadamori had been expert on the flute, and had received this one as a gift from the Retired Emperor Toba. They surmised that Tsunemori had inherited it in his turn, and that Atsumori was carrying it in virtue of his own powers on the instrument. The name of the flute was "Saeda," or "Little Branch." They say that a nonsensical pun in a Kyōgen farce is enough to cause enlightenment: but how much more affecting is this case in which Atsumori's flute brought Kumagae to the Buddha!
926.18.108



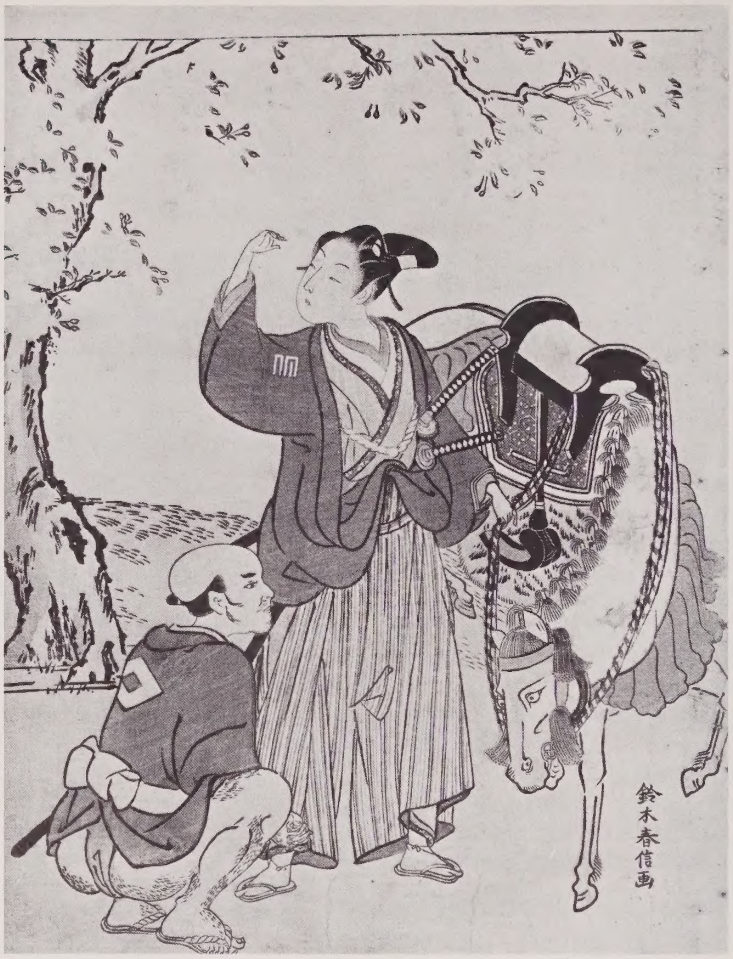
73

74 **Harunobu.** A young *samurai* with his horse and groom under a flowering cherry tree, at which he is gazing pensively.

chūban, 27.6 x 21.0; 8 colour blocks, overprinting, *karazuri;* good condition.
Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1767-69.

The subject is illustrated in several Japanese publications: Murata (1918), No. 27; Shōbisha (1928), No. 14; Takahashi (1938), CPl. 10; UT 4, Pl. 75; and Yoshida (1942), Pl. 590.

The *Genji-mon* (cf. No. 40) on the young man's sleeve is for Chapter 48, *Sawarabi* ("Young Fern-shoots") of the *Tale of Genji.* It seems possible that an allusion is intended, and even that the print comes from a set. Compare Waley (1935), p. 903: "The trees were now in full bloom and Kaoru, looking across towards the gardens of the Nijō-in, thought at once of the 'deserted house' and its exquisite cherry-blossom, the petals of which must now be 'fluttering unmourned'." 926.18.109

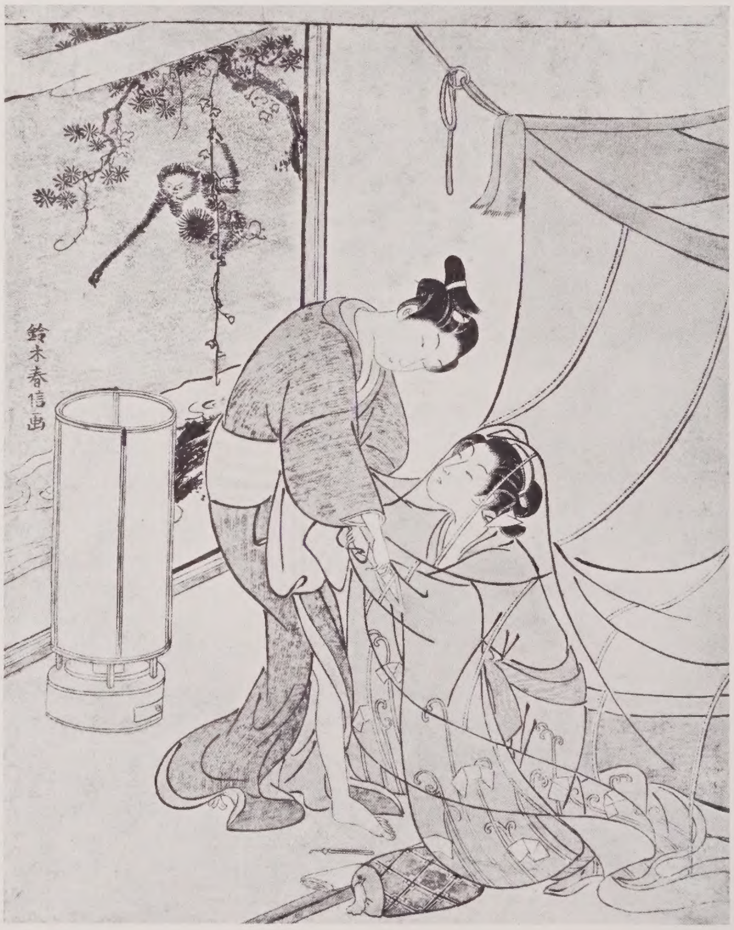


74

75 **Harunobu.** Lovers parting.

chūban, 28.2 x 21.8; 6(?) colour blocks, faint mica dusting.
Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1767-69.

There are other specimens in AIC (Gentles (1965), p. 124) and in MFAB (21.4502 [Spaulding 4-11]: a later state, with new heads). The subject is also illustrated in Morgenthau (1932), No. 13 and Pl.; NHBZ 2, Pl. 297. A closely related design in *shunga* format is illustrated by Yoshida (1953), Pl. 51 (also UT 5, Pl. 285). For a note on mosquito nets, see No. 113. 926.18.116

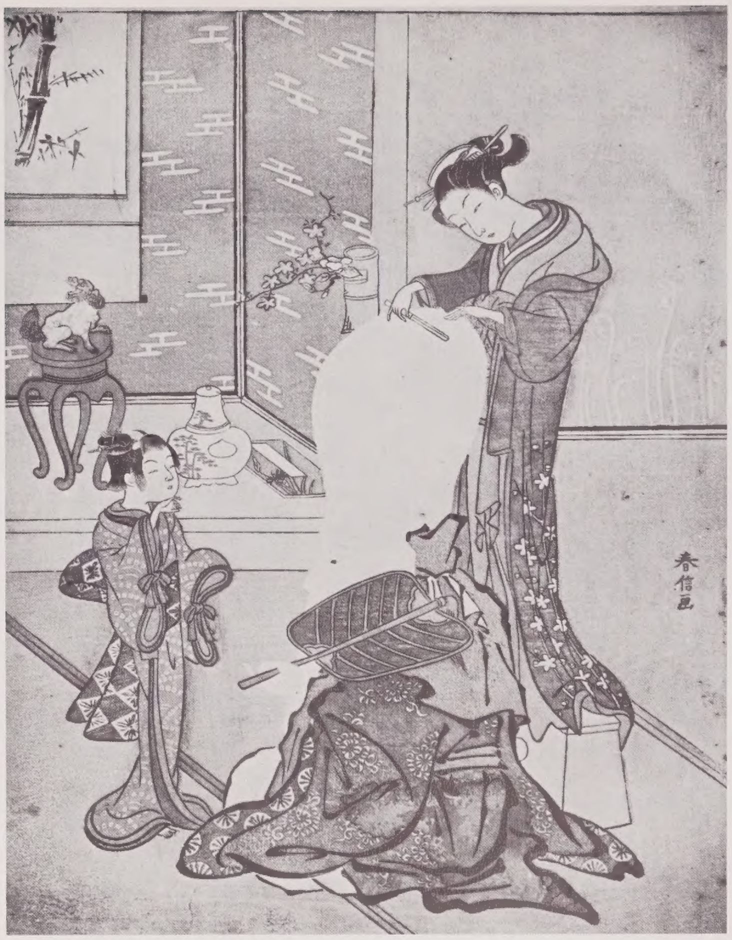


75

76 **Harunobu.** A courtesan, watched by her *kamuro,* shaving the pate of Fukurokuju, God of Longevity.

chūban, 27.6 x 21.0; 6(?) colour blocks, *karazuri.*
Signature: *Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1767-69.

This specimen: Waterhouse (1971), Pl. 7. This print is probably earlier than the set *Tōsei shichifukujin,* which depicts all of the Seven Gods of Good Luck (see Gentles, 1964, pp. 141-44). Another specimen, same state: MFAB: 21.4620 (Spaulding 4-11). There is a closely related design, probably later, which is illustrated by Hillier (1970), Pl. 119, from the Portland Art Museum collection and which also exists in Boston (MFAB: 11.30149). 926.18.103



76

77 **Harunobu.** A girl picking *wakana* (young spring grasses) and offering them to her boy-friend. Behind them, a stream with a rustic bridge. Above the stylised cloud line is the *Genji-mon* (see notes to No. 40) for Chapter 34 (*Wakana,* Part I) of the *Tale of Genji,* and the poem:

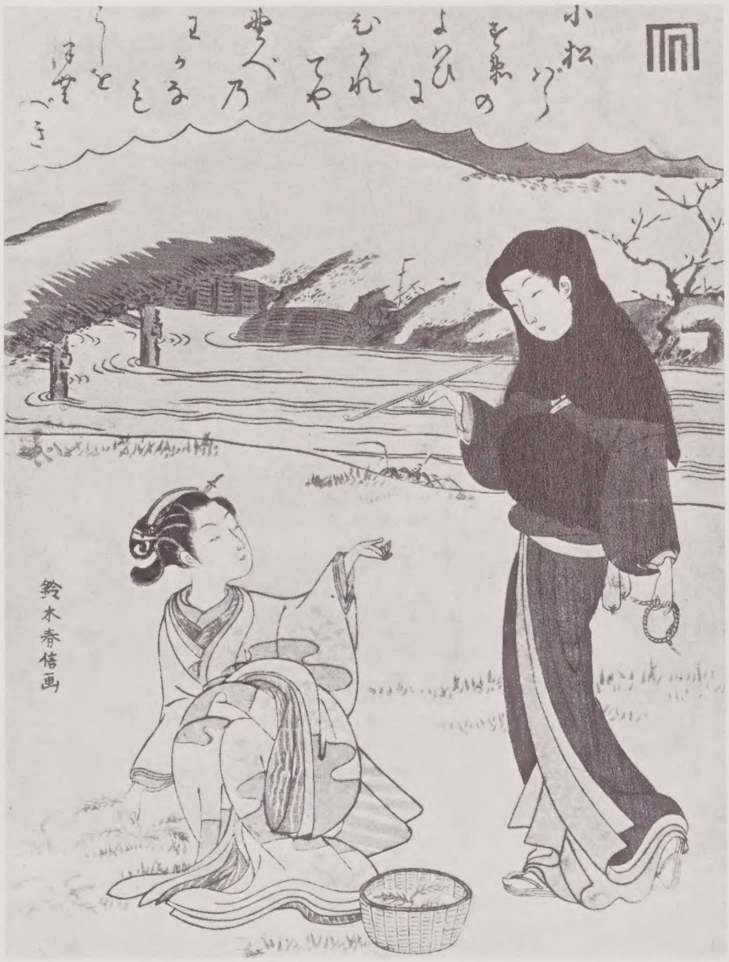
komatsu-bara (*v. infra*)
sue no yowai ni
hikarete ya
nobe no wakana mo
toshi wo tsumubeki

chūban, 26.1 x 19.5; 7(?) colour blocks, *urushi, karazuri*; some darkening of the paper, small holes (TL).
Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1767-69.

Another specimen: TKH 1, No. 518 (different colour blocks?).

This print probably comes from a lost set illustrating some or all of the fifty-four chapters of the *Tale of Genji.* What appears to be another from the set is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.4381 [Spaulding 4-13]): it also has a *Genji-mon* and poem.

For a translation of the poem on the Walker print and for the story behind the poem, see the notes to No. 28 in this catalogue. It will be observed that Harunobu's approach to illustrating the *Tale of Genji* is far from conventional, but takes the form of a *mitate-e,* or "parody picture." 926.18.102



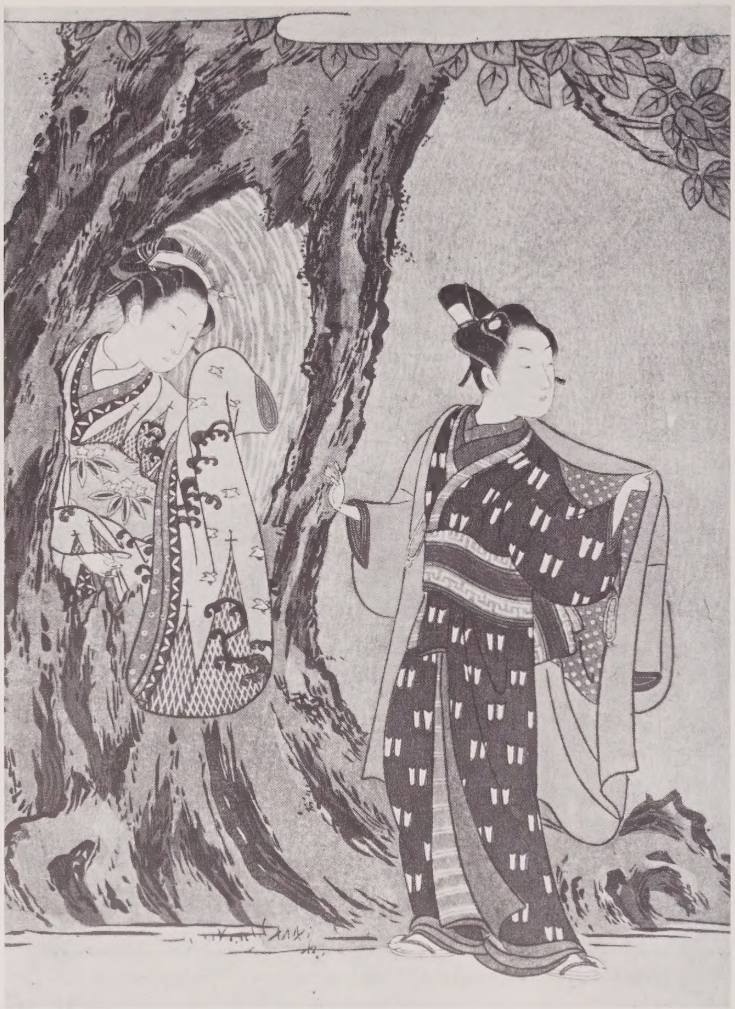
77

78 **Harunobu.** A girl hiding inside a hollow tree from her lover, who is pretending not to have seen her.

chūban, 28.5 x 20.3; 9(?) colour blocks; fresh colours (19th C.?).
Unsigned.
Date: *c.* 1768.

Another specimen of this print, in the Grabhorn collection, is described by Hillier (1970), No. 72. It is signed *Suzuki Harunobu ga* (BR). Hillier identifies the subject as a *mitate* of a story in *Utsubo monogatari.* An alternative explanation is that it alludes to a famous incident from the *Gempei seisuiki,* when Kajiwara no Kagetoki led Heike troops away from a hollow tree in which he knew Yoritomo was hiding. Thereafter Yoritomo treated him with great favour. This incident was depicted, for example, by Kiyoshige, in a print now in the Art Institute of Chicago (see Gunsaulus, 1955, p. 112, No. 6) and done about ten years before Harunobu's.

The colouring of both the Walker and the Grabhorn prints is suspect, but no other impressions seem to be recorded. It seems possible that the Grabhorn signature is a later addition. 926.18.123



78

79 **Harunobu.** A mother dressing her small son in his new summer *kimono.* Behind her stands a maid who is holding the sash for it, with a small purse (*mamori-bukuro*) attached. On the floor is a toy windmill and a Daruma doll. The poem above the stylised cloud-line is by *Sōzui,* and reads:

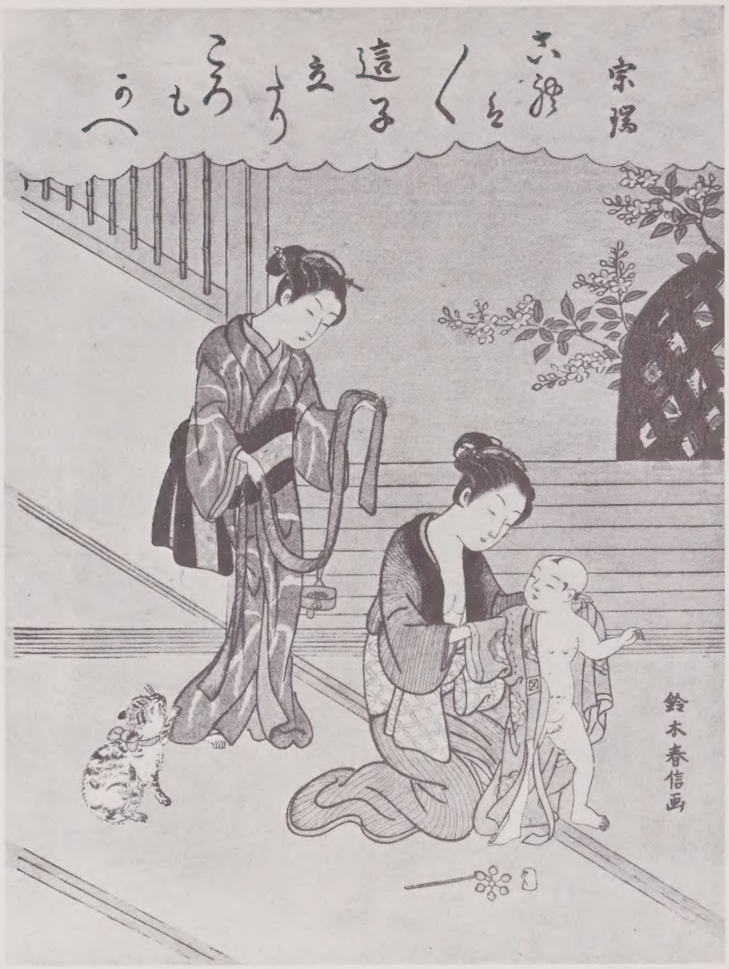
kore wa kore wa	Just look at this!
hoko tachitari	the "crawler" is standing up now –
koromo-gae	for the change to summer dress!

chūban, 28.2 x 21.3; 7 colour blocks, *karazuri.*
Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*
Date: *c.* 1768.

Other specimens in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.19452 [14-24-F]), and in the Tōkyō National Museum (TKH 1, Pl. 505). Subject illustrated: Sexton (1922), Pl. 15; UT 5, Pl. 346; Yoshida (1942), Pl. 398. The print appears to come from an album called *Fūryū goshiki-zumi,* of which Boston has the title page (21.8179 [Spaulding 4-14]), and which contained a portrait of Bashō, followed by prints illustrating poems by members of his school. Boston also has three further sheets from the album.

Nakagawa Sōzui, a minor *haiku* poet of the Sampū school, died in 1744 at the age of sixty. He published several collections of *haiku* during his lifetime; and after his death his successor Sōzui II published *Hakuto yokō* (2 vols., Kyōto, 1764), of which the first volume contained poems by Sōzui I, and the second contained poems on the four seasons by various poets. Sōzui II also published *Hakuto chawa* (preface dated 1767), containing his own poems (Ijichi, 1961; KSM). None of these books seems to have been reprinted, and I have not been able to consult the originals to ascertain if the poem on Harunobu's print is from one of them; or whether it is by Sōzui I or II.

The *koromo-gae,* or "change of clothes," took place on the first day of the fourth month each year, and there are numerous *haiku* about it. It was also customary at this time to give the house a spring-cleaning. 926.18.118



79

80 **Harunobu.** Young man making an appointment with a *watatsumi,* a kind of independent prostitute, at the entrance to her shop. She is seated in front of a *nurioke,* a lacquered form used for shaping white floss-silk (*mawata*) into *ebōshi* (ceremonial hats). A roll of silk lies next to it, together with a loose scrap of silk. The young man carries a bundle wrapped up in a *furoshiki,* and has an *inrō* attached to a brush-case (*yatate*) which is thrust through his *obi.* In the background, a pet cat with a ribbon round its neck lies asleep. On the screen (TL) is a painting of herons and bamboo.

chūban, 27.3 x 20.2; 8 colour blocks, *karazuri.*
Signature: *Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1768-69.

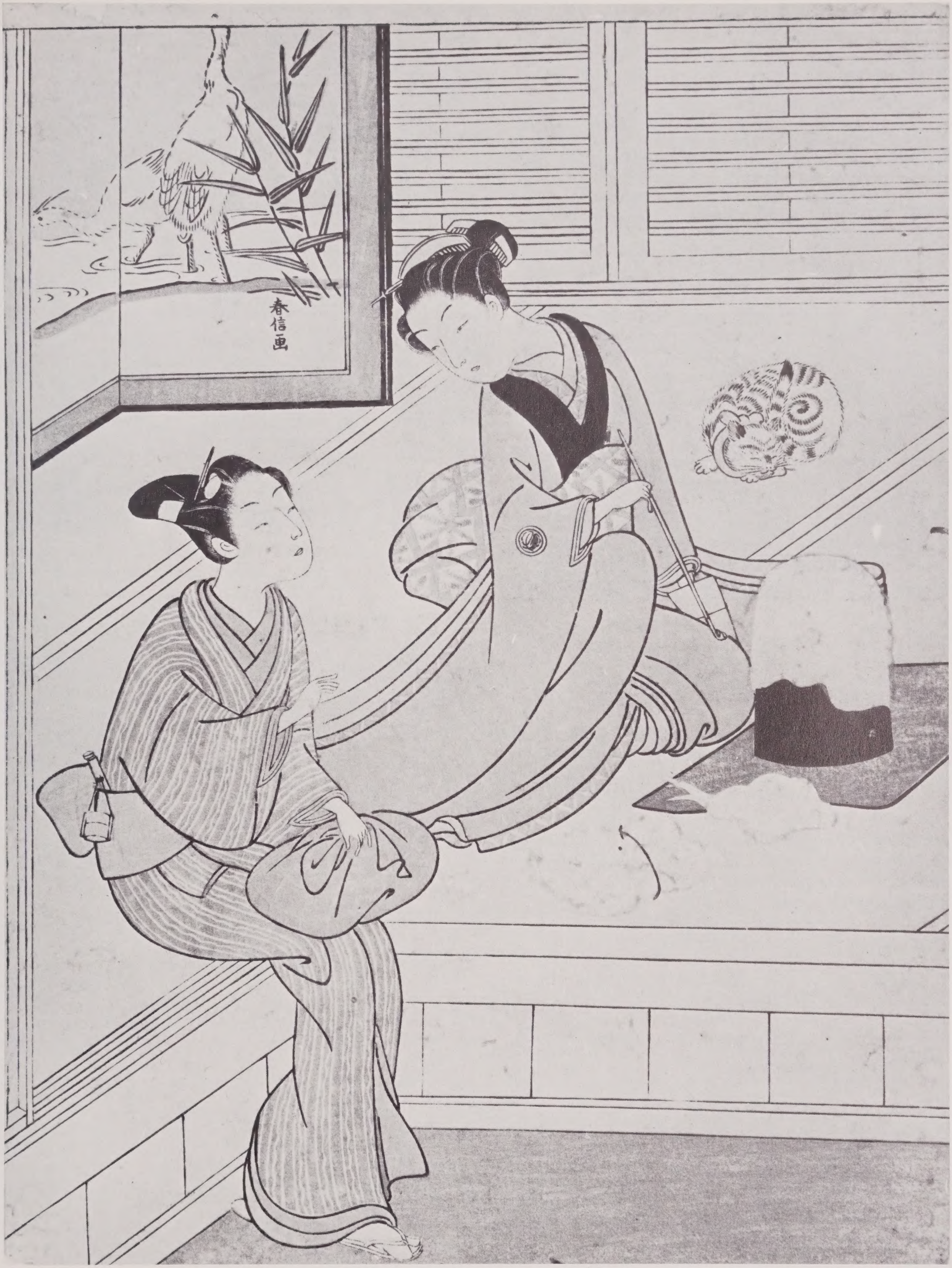
There are other specimens in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (illus. Hillier, 1970, Pl. 120); in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.4466 [Spaulding 4-11]: a later printing?); and in the collection of Miss Edith Ehrman, New York (illus. Stern, 1969, No. 51 and CPl.). The print seems to exist with an earlier and a later colour scheme, the Walker print being early.

The precise explanation of this print seems to have eluded earlier commentators, though Philip Stern comes close when he suggests that there is erotic symbolism in the shape of the *nurioke* and other objects, including perhaps the cat. *Watatsumi* were in fact private prostitutes who operated hat-blocking shops as a front for their activities. Records of their existence have been collected by the indefatigable Ōmagari (1938), pp. 353-57, who traced them back to the second half of the seventeenth century. After a lull at the beginning of the eighteenth century, they continued to flourish until at least the 1770s, and a large number of *senryū* (facetious poems) were written about them. One from the later 1760s may be quoted:

watatsumi wa	the silk-pullers –
charakuramono wo	where false merchandise
yasuku kai	can be cheaply had!

One of Harunobu's most famous early prints, *Nurioke bosetsu,* from the *Zashiki hakkei* series (see, for a recent summary and description, Hillier, 1970, No. 34), also shows silk-pulling being carried on, in this case by two women. A writer in NHBZ 2, *ad* CPl. 24, went so far as to suggest that they are mother and daughter, and that the daughter is preparing for her marriage, since she is making a *watabōshi,* the white headgear worn at that date by brides (and seen, for example, on Harunobu's "Marriage" series). But the figure of the girl is actually taken directly from a plate in Sukenobu's *Hyakunin jorō shina sadame* (1723), Vol. I, fol. 20a, where the scene is explicitly labelled *watatsumi;* and it is unlikely that a girl would make her own wedding head-dress (even though we learn that indigent court ladies went in for hat-making to supplement their income). Nor would she need the *two* hats which are shown. The girls in this early print too are simply prostitutes.

As a class, *watatsumi* were not rated highly by the connoisseurs. The *Yoshiwara tsurezuregusa* (5 vols., *c.* 1705-10) says: "*Keisei* are lower than *mekakemono, chayamono* are lower than *keisei, watatsumi* are lower than *chayamono, bikuni* are lower than *watatsumi, yodaka* are lower than *bikuni*" (quoted by Ōmagari, 1938, p. 355).
926.18.115



80

81 **Harunobu.** A girl with an adze and basket, about to cut rushes.

chūban, 25.4 x 20.9; 8(?) colour blocks, overprinting; trimmed (T); evidence of water damage, air-burning and over-exposure to light.

Signature: *Harunobu ga.*

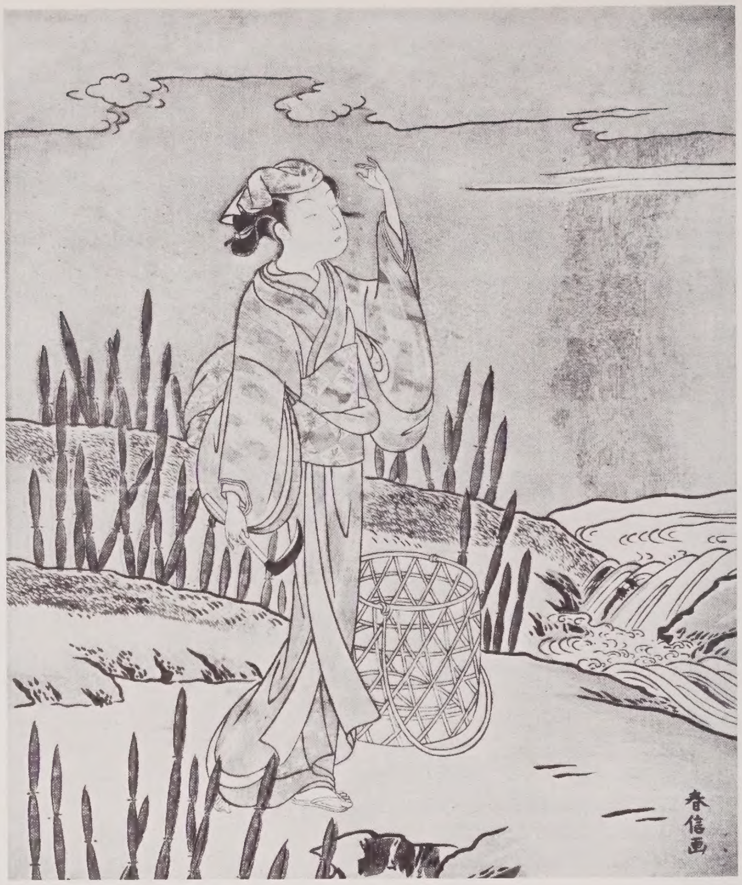
Date: 1768-69

Subject illustrated: Sotheby (1923.1.29), No. 195; Yoshida (1942), Pl. 268; Mitsui (1970), Pl. 26. The Yoshida and Mitsui photographs show more at the top of the print: a top cloud-line and the full moon (TR), at which the girl is gazing. The Walker print has clearly been trimmed; it is possible that it represents a different state, but a comparison of the photographs is not conclusive.

Yamaguchi Keizaburō (1970). p. 38, interprets this design as a reference to the Nō play *Tokusa,* "Scouring Rushes" (by Zeami), in which the following poem, from a Kamakura-period anthology, the *Fuboku shō,* is cited:

tokusa karu	From between the trees
Sonohara-yama no	on Mount Sonohara where
ko no ma yori	they cut scouring reeds,
migaki idenuru	all brightly polished appears
aki no yo no tsuki	the autumn evening moon!

Tokusa is a kind of abrasive reed which was used to polish objects; Sonohara, before the opening of the Kiso road, was a station on the Chūsandō, and it is mentioned in several early poems. Mr. Yamaguchi suggests that Harunobu's print may have belonged to a series with some such title as *Fūryū yatsushi yōkyoku* or *utai mitate* – that is, a series of playful allusions to Nō plays. It may be added that one of Harunobu's early series (*Fūryū utai hakkei*) is of this nature. 926.18.112



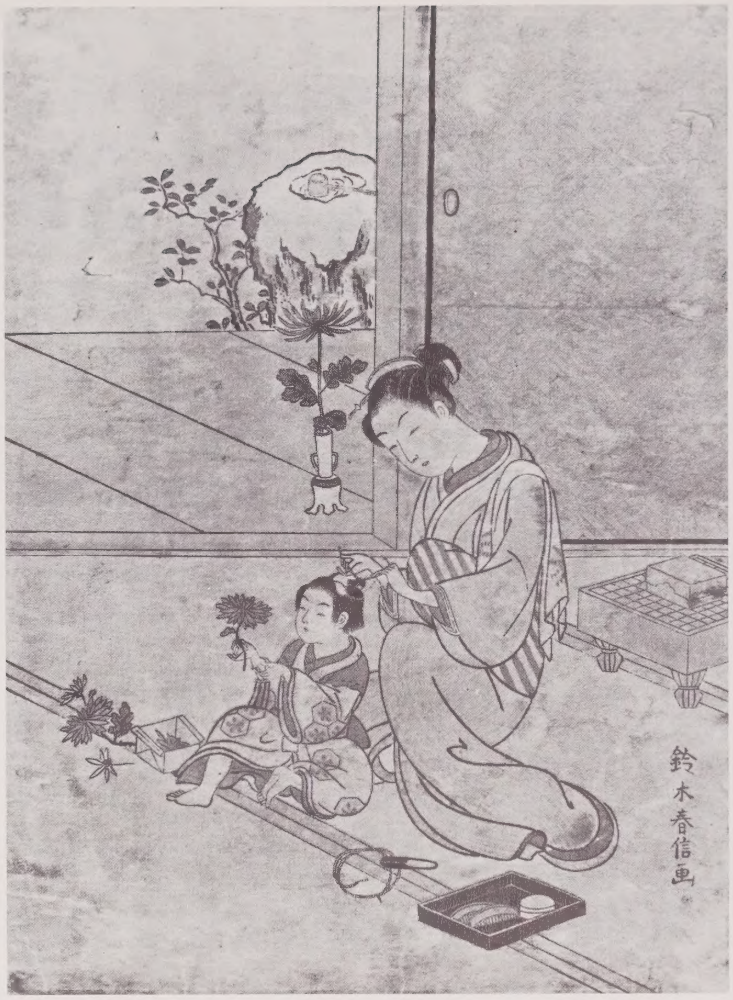
81

82 **Harunobu.** A mother tying up her son's hair. The boy is meanwhile filling a small paper box with chrysanthemum petals and leaves; and on the verandah stands a vase containing a large single chrysanthemum.

chūban, 26.4 x 19.2; 8(?) colour blocks; paper somewhat creased and soiled.
Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1768-69.

Other specimens: British Museum (1927.4.13.012: in better condition); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.4501 [Spaulding 4-12]: with different colouring, e.g. on the boy's *kimono*). Subject illustrated: Yoshida (1942), Pl. 628.

Both boys and girls had their hair done the same way up to the age of seven or eight; and in Edo it was also usual to shave the eyebrows of children until they were five or six. The child on this print has eyebrows, and his forelock seems to be done in boy's style: so he is probably about eight years old. Miss Hirano (1939). Pl. 963, illustrates a print by Kiyonaga of the earlier 1790s, which shows two small girls filling a similar box with chrysanthemum petals, and explains it as being for the Chrysanthemum Festival – i.e. *Chōyō,* one of the Five Festivals (*go-sekku*), held on the ninth day of the ninth month. This raises the possibility that Harunobu's print was one of a set of five.
926.18.106



82

83 **Harunobu.** Two lovers.

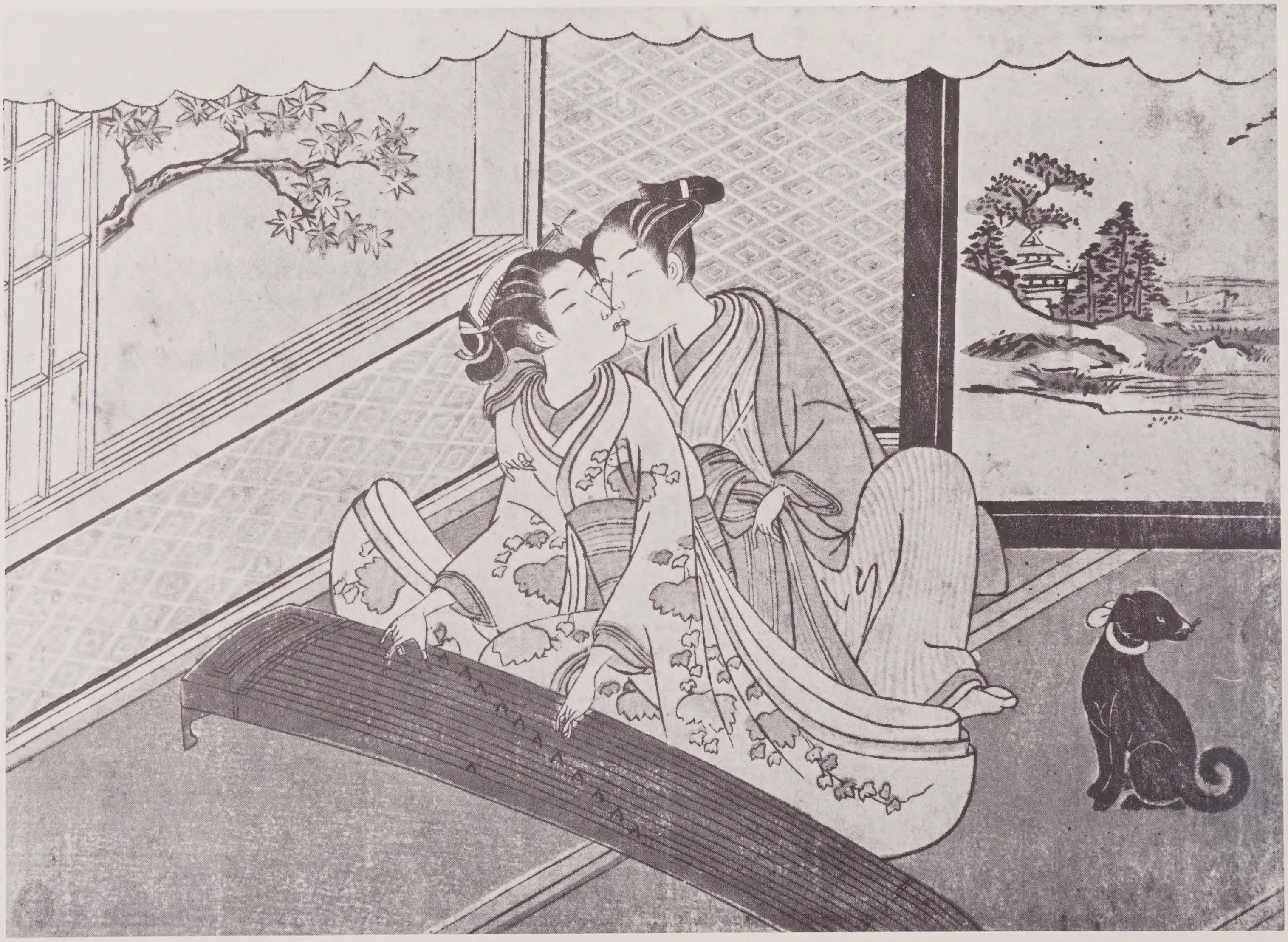
yokoe, 18.5 x 25.7; 7(?) colour blocks; probably trimmed; seal of Blondeau collection.

Unsigned.

Date: 1768-70.

This print is unsigned, but it seems reasonable to attribute it to Harunobu, and to regard it as the opening leaf from an erotic album. 926.18.114

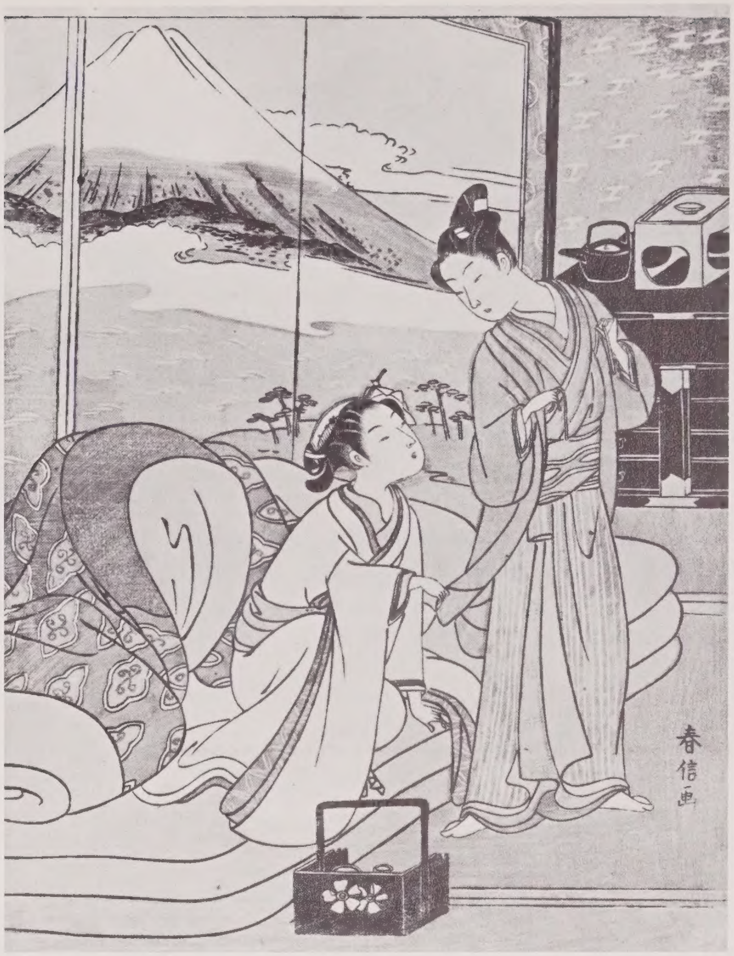
83



84 **Harunobu.** Two lovers parting at dawn. On the screen behind the bed, a painting of Mount Fuji.

chūban, 27.9 x 21.1; 7(?) colour blocks.
Signature: *Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1768-70.

There are other specimens in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Hillier, 1970, Pl. 113) and in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.30148: in poor condition). A number of eighteenth-century prints and *ehon* contain depictions of Mount Fuji: for other examples by Harunobu, cf. two prints in Boston: 21.4634 (Spaulding 4-12) (or Yoshida, 1942, Pl. 583) and 21.4387 (Spaulding 4-8). The earliest known depiction of Mount Fuji is in the *Ippen Shōnin eden* handscroll of 1299, followed by the Fuji *mandala* paintings of the fourteenth century. Thereafter there are many examples, by Shinsō (d. 1525) and Kanō Tan-yū (1602-74) among others. 926.18.111



84

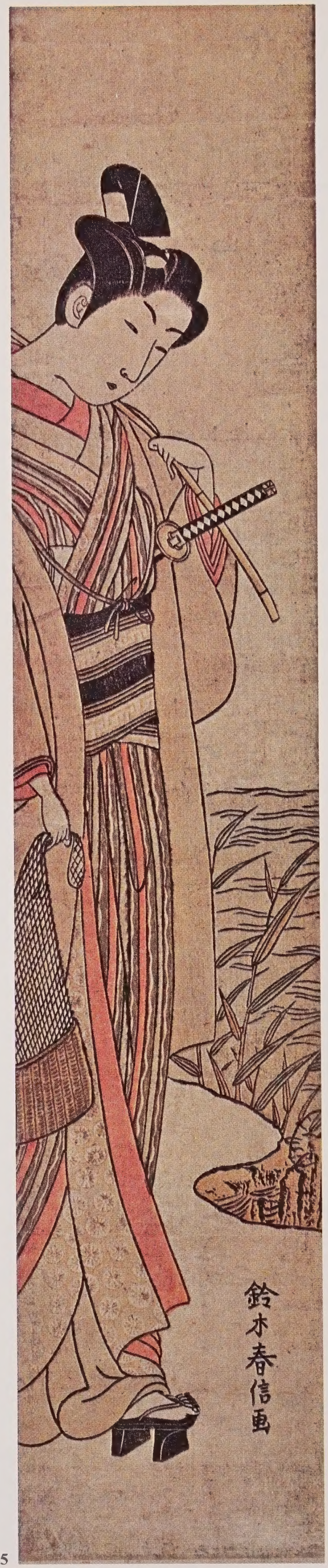
85 **Harunobu.** A young man going on a fishing expedition.

hashira-e, 57.4 x 11.3; 5(?) colour blocks; air-burning, horizontal fold-marks.

Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*

Date: 1768-70.

Other specimens in AIC (Gentles, 1965, p. 148) and in BM (1948.11.27.01). Subject illustrated: Sotheby (1913.1.28), No. 11 and Pl. III; Yoshida (1942), Pl. 547. 926.18.153



85

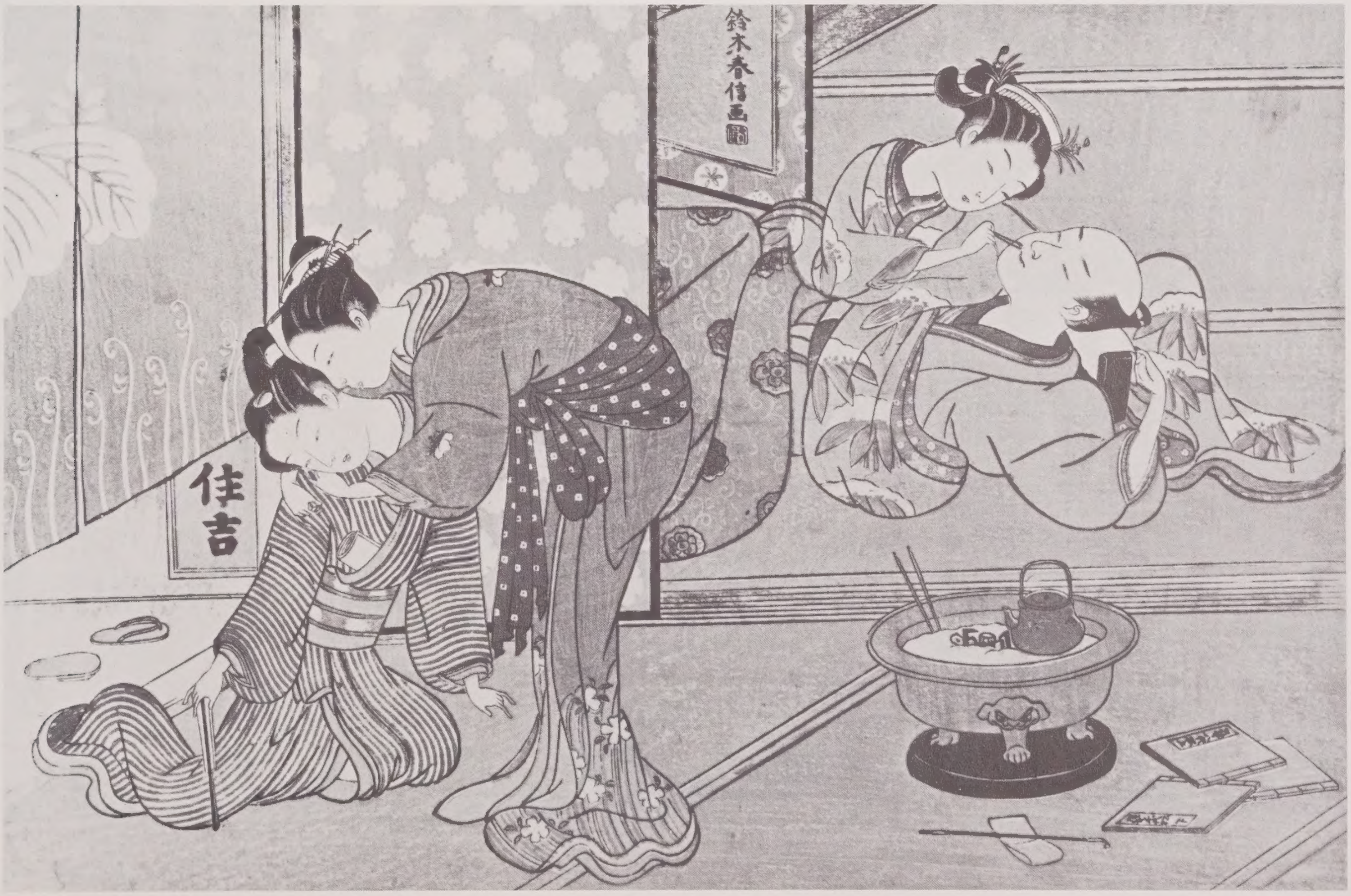
86 **Harunobu.** Two couples in a brothel. One girl is picking hair from the face of her partner, an older man; the other girl is embracing her newly arrived partner, who seems to be young and very shy. A tea kettle stands in a large metal bowl containing hot ash; a tobacco pipe and three volumes of a book (*Ehon chiyo no matsu* – by Harunobu, 1767) lie nearby. Under the curtain (L) we see outside a sign, *Sumiyoshi.*

yokoe, 20.5 x 31.6; 9(?) colour blocks, overprinting.
Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga,* seal *Harunobu.*
Date: 1769-70.

Subject illustrated: Vignier (1910), No. 286 and Pl. XXVI; Yoshida (1942), Pl. 561.

This print, like No. 83, is probably a page from an erotic album of some kind. There was a house of pleasure called the Sumiyoshi-ya in Sakai, but Harunobu is probably depicting a place in the New Yoshiwara in Edo. It may be noted that the Old Yoshiwara was on Sumiyoshi-machi. 926.18.121

86



87 **Harunobu.** *Chōjiya-uchi Chōzan,* "Chōzan, of the Chōjiya," from a series entitled *Ukiyo bijin hana mitate,* "Competition of Beauties of the Floating World as Flowers." Chōzan, who is here likened to cherry blossom, is given the name *Hana-no-ō,* "Queen of Flowers" (a poetic name for the cherry: see Ōmagari, 1955). The poem is as follows:

haru goto ni	Though every spring
miredomo akazu	I see it, I never tire
sakura-bana	of cherry blossom:
toshi ni ya hana no	with every year the flowers
saki masaruran	seem to bloom more than before!

Chōzan is seated on a verandah of what would seem to be another establishment than the Chōjiya, to judge from the characters which are partly visible (R). She is attended by a *shinzō,* and is taking delivery of a love-letter held out to her by a *kamuro.*

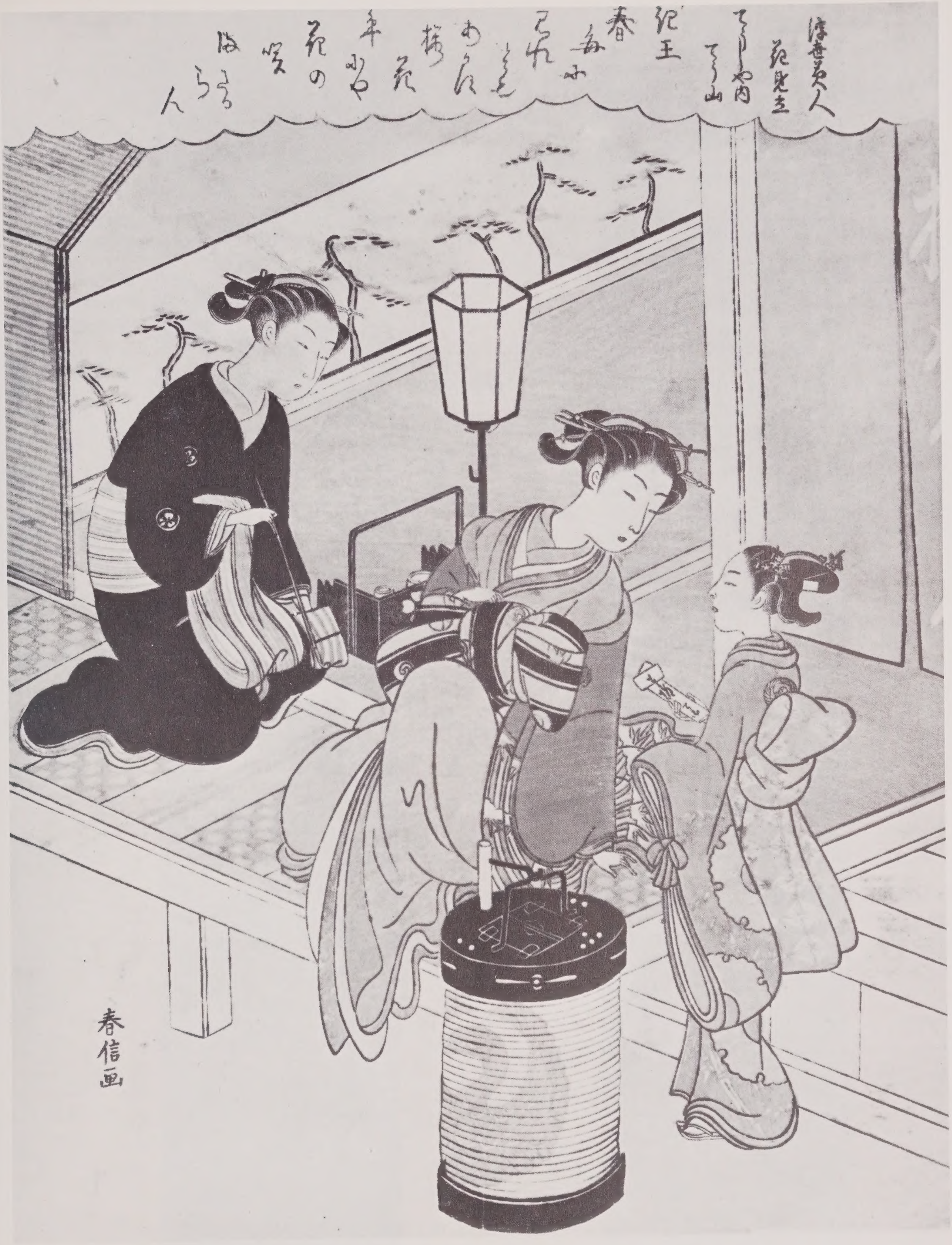
chūban, 27.6 x 20.3; 9(?) colour blocks; trimmed (R).
Signature: *Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1769-70.

There are other specimens of this print in the Art Institute of Chicago (Gentles, 1965, p. 136: *ex* Sotheby [1910.5.23], No. 37 and Pl. 3); and in the British Museum (Binyon, 1916, B.34). The Walker print has a vertical break through the ribs of the lantern (B), and an irregularity in the printing of the bamboo blind (TL). These features are not evident in the other two specimens, and suggest that it is a later printing.

The poem on the print is slightly misquoted from the *Goshū ishū,* I, 116 (KT, p. 85): 1.3 should be *yamazakura,* "mountain cherry." It is by Genroku Hōshi, and it was "composed about his feelings on seeing the [spring] flowers year after year."

The figures of both the courtesan and the *kamuro* delivering the letter are borrowed from Sukenobu's *Ehon tokiwa-gusa* (1730), Vol. III, fol. 7b. The same *kamuro* can be seen on other prints by Harunobu: for example, Yoshida (1942), Pll. 563 and 641; and MFAB: 21.4399 (Spaulding 4-11).

The Chōjiya, on Ni-chōme, Edo-chō, in the Yoshiwara, was one of the best-known houses, and is featured on a number of prints of the period (cf. No. 64). Its Chinese name was *Sūzetsu-rō,* "The Chicken-Tongue Room." Chōzan, who was one of the most popular girls there, is described as follows in a contemporary work, the *Shōgi chiri ki,* "Topographical Guide to the Women of Pleasure": "Chōzan. On this mountain too [a play on *-zan* = mountain] the flowers are beautiful, and there is nothing to equal the view from the bottom of the slope. And, when you come in closer, there are fine sights to see!" (quoted by Ōmagari, 1955, s.v.). 926.18.100

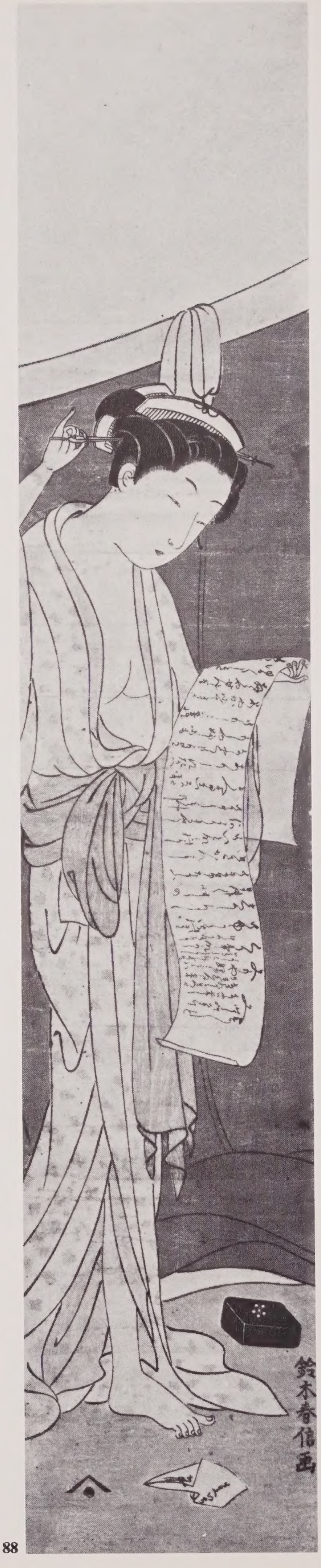

浮世美人
花見立
春信画

87

88 **Harunobu.** A courtesan reading a long letter by the side of a mosquito net. The envelope and a small lacquer box lie on the floor.

hashira-e, 59.6 x 11.1; 5(?) colour blocks.
Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*
Publisher: Trademark of Harimaya Shinshichi.
Date: 1769-70.

This specimen: Ficke (1920), No. 89 and Pl. Others in AIC (Gentles, 1965, p. 146); MFAB (21.4570 [Spaulding 11-2]); and in FAM (1933.4.1260 [Duel 135]). Subject illustrated: Vignier (1910), No. 268 and Pl. XVIII; Gookin (1913), No. 80 and CPl.; Noguchi (1932), Pl. 94; Noguchi (1940), Pl. 77; UT 5, Pl. 45; Yoshida (1942), Pl. 439. It should be noted that the Walker print represents a second state of this print. Apparently the key-block was damaged at the top, and part of the mosquito net (the roof) was removed. 926.18.154

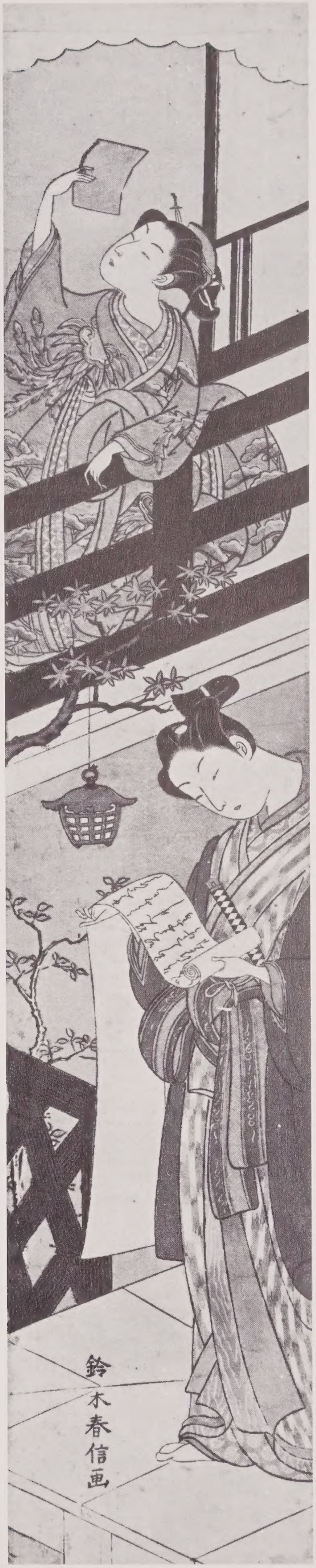


88

89 **Harunobu.** Parody of the Letter-Reading scene from Act VII of *Chūshingura,* the drama about the "Forty-Seven Rōnin." A young man reading a love-letter by the light of a lantern is being spied on by a girl who is also reading it from a balcony, with the aid of a mirror.

hashira-e, 62.8 x 12.4; 7 colour blocks.
Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1769-70.

There is another specimen of this print in the Art Institute of Chicago (Gentles, 1965, p. 147). Harunobu's design was probably copied from a pillar-print by Tanaka Masunobu, which is illustrated by Michener (1959), No. 121. The same subject was treated by several other *ukiyoe* artists in pillar-print format: for example, Toyoharu (see No. 145 in this catalogue); Koryūsai (TKH 1, Pl. 720); and Chōki (Michener, 1959, No. 124). For the story, see No. 145. 926.18.152



89

90 **Harunobu.** A courtesan making a sketch of bamboo, while her companion watches. Another sketch is draped over a table, with ink, an inkstone and a seal lying next to it. In the alcove behind, a spray of flowers in a vase, and a painting signed *Fumoku [?] Sanjin sha,* with two seals (*Haru* and *Nobu*?). The poem above the stylised cloud line reads:

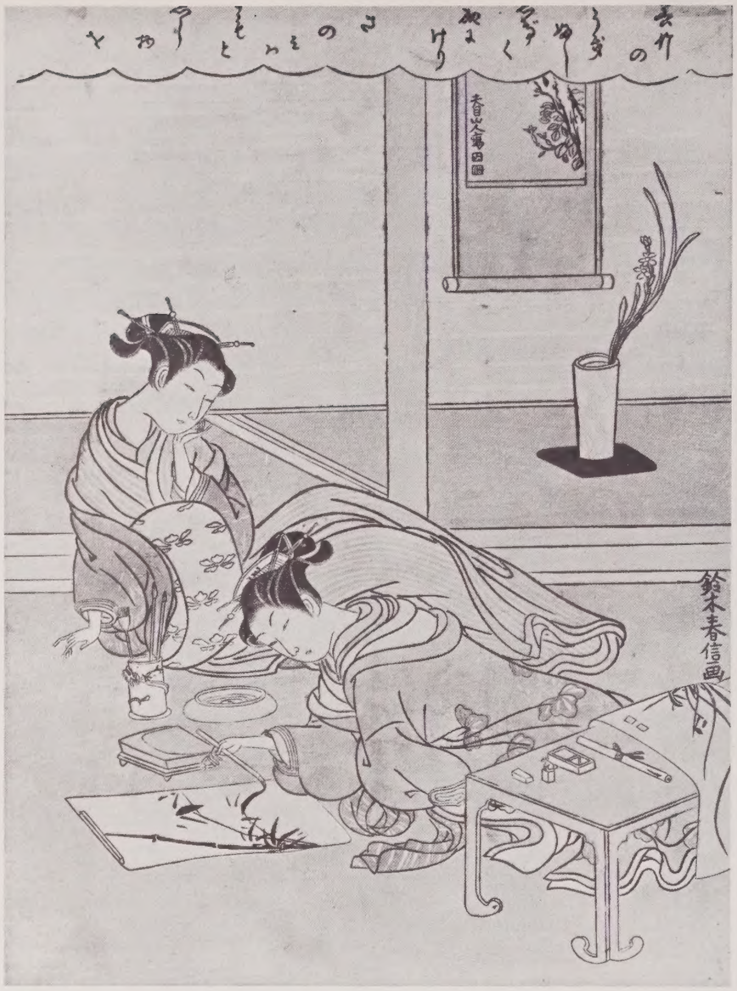
Kuretake no	As dense as the nodes
ukifushi shigeku	of Kure bamboo is the
narinikeri	pain and grief I bear –
sanomi wa ni mo to	even though I had realised
omoishi mono wo	it would hurt as much as this.

chūban, 27.6 x 20.2; 9(?) colour blocks, overprinting, *karazuri*; trimmed (T), somewhat faded.

Signature: *Suzuki Harunobu ga.*

Date: *c.*1770.

The signature, style and technique of this print suggest that it is one of Harunobu's last works. There are other specimens in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.4445 [Spaulding 4-15]) and in the Tōkyō National Museum (TKH 1, No. 457). The poem is by Minamoto no Toshiyori (d. 1129), and is taken from the *Zoku Kokin waka shū,* XIX, No. 1797 (KT, p. 300). As applied to this print, it seems to tell us that the girl with the brush has been rejected by her lover. "Fumoku," on the painting in the alcove, if not a misprint, is probably a pun on the *Haru* of Harunobu, with one stroke transferred from the top of the character to the bottom. 926.18.98



90

Harunobu II

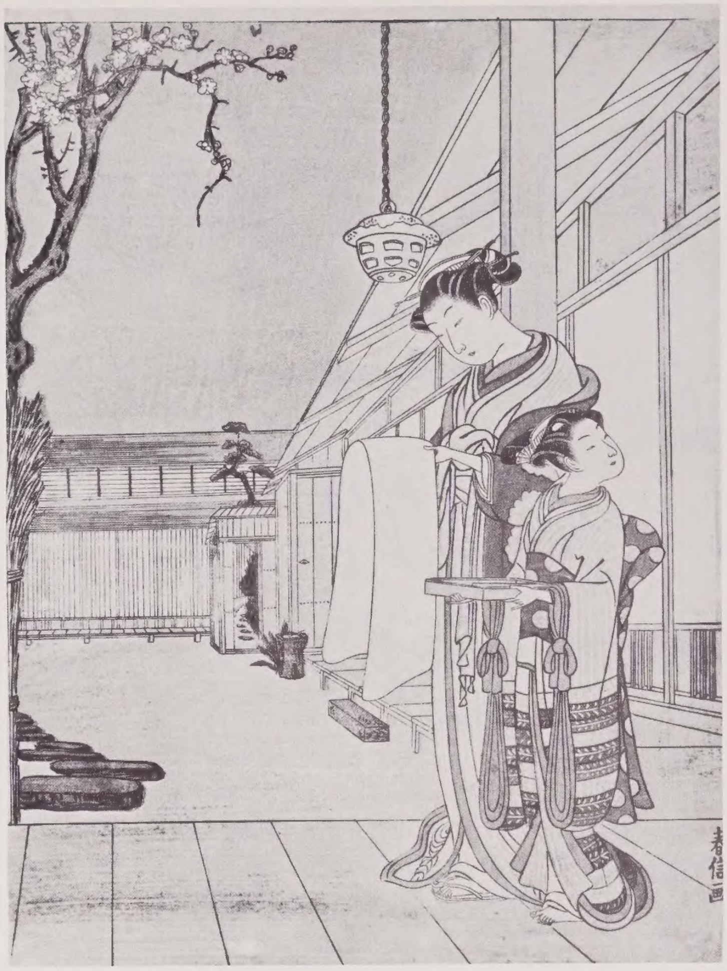
91 **Harunobu II.** A courtesan reading a letter, attended by a *kamuro* holding a tray.

chūban, 28.1 x 21.0; 8(?) colour blocks.
Signature: *Harunobu ga.*
Date: 1771-72.

This specimen: Waterhouse (1971), Pl. 5. There is another specimen in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.5000 [Spaulding 4-15]); and another is illustrated in Getz (1925), No. 142 and Pl.

The sharply receding perspective, the angle of the *kamuro*'s head, the colouring and the form of the signature are all uncharacteristic even of Harunobu's last manner. It may therefore be suggested that this print is one of the imitations done by Shiba Kōkan in the years immediately following Harunobu's death. It is nevertheless an attractive design, reminiscent of Toyoharu.

The designation adopted here for the artist of this print is in accordance with the conclusions of my article cited above. "Harunobu II" (otherwise Shiba Kōkan, 1747-1818) changed his art-name to Harushige in about 1772, and ceased designing *ukiyoe* prints after about 1775.
926.18.124



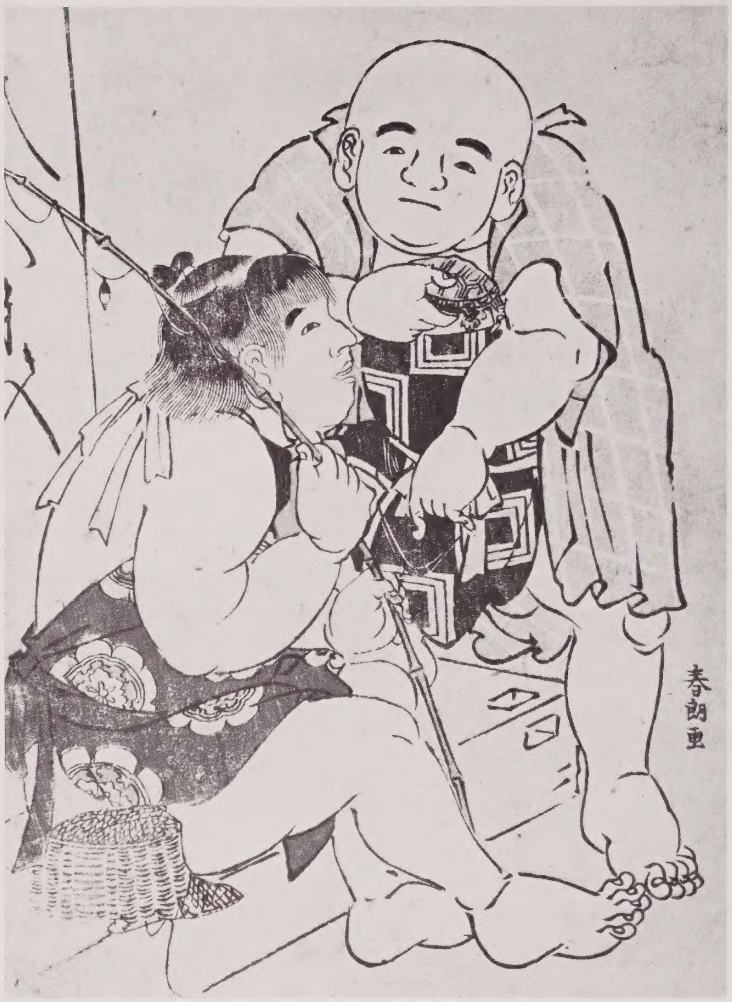
91

Hokusai

92 **Hokusai.** Two boys, with a fishing rod and a small turtle which they have caught.

Small *chūban,* 21.1 x 15.1.
Signature: *Shunrō ga.*
Date: early 1780s.

The full story of the life and work of Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) belongs to a later chapter of *ukiyoe* than that covered by this catalogue. As a young man, however, he was a pupil of Shunshō, and turned out a number of prints of actors, Chinese subjects and others, with the signature *Shunrō.* These prints are quite rare, differ greatly in style from Hokusai's later work, and, since the Walker collection contains two such which are possibly unique, and are in themselves interesting designs, it seemed desirable to include them here. Hokusai used the name Shunrō from about 1779 (to which year an actor print has been dated) until about 1796. 926.18.609

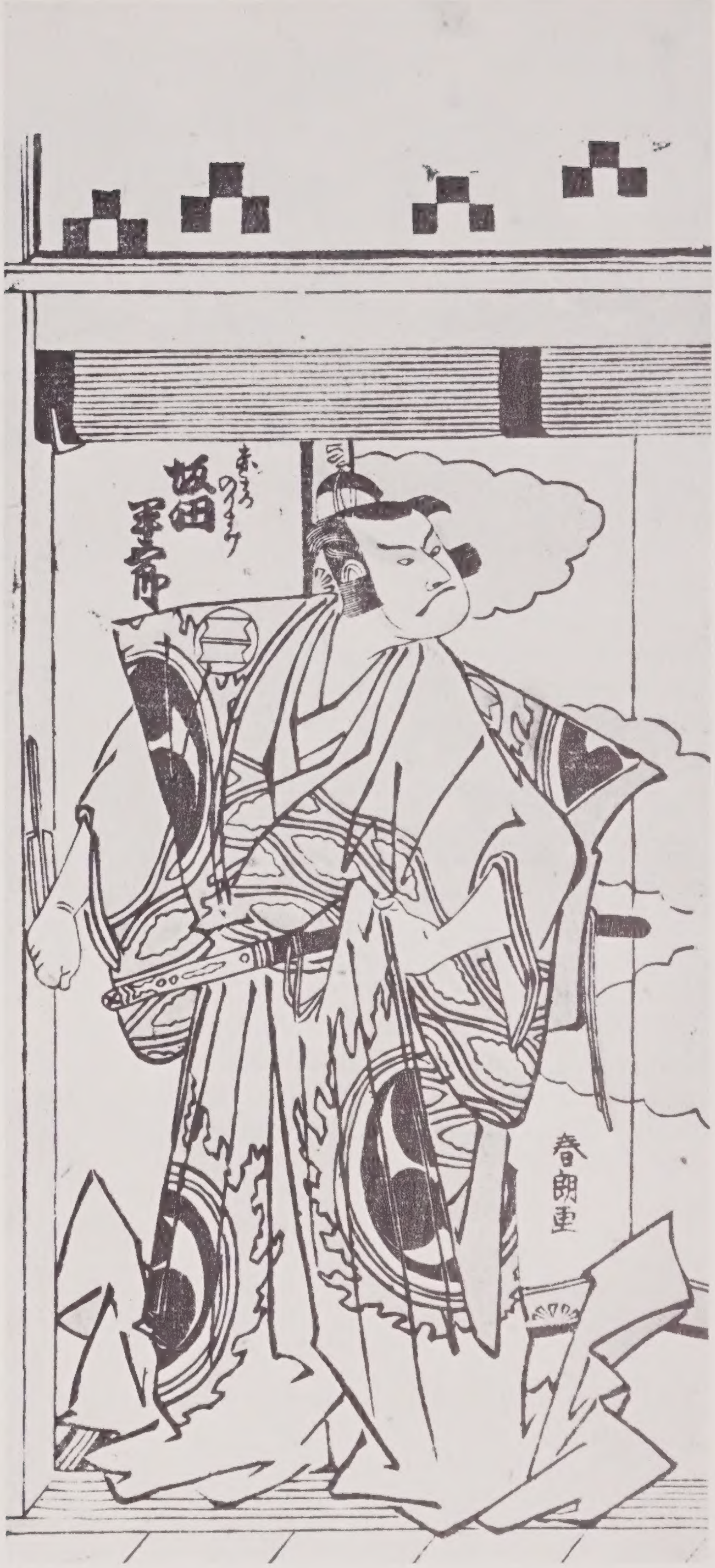


92

93 **Hokusai.** *Sakata Hangorō* III as *Akamatsu Norisuke.* He wears *kamishimo* with a design of *taiko* drum-heads, and part of a folding screen is visible behind him.

hosoe, 29.5 x 13.2.
Signature: *Shunrō ga.*
Date: 1780s.

See note on the preceding print. For Sakata Hangorō, cf. No. 132 by Shun-ei. Akamatsu Norisuke was a character in one of the plays based on the *Taiheiki* (Iizuka, 1926, p. 170), but I have not identified the performance here depicted. Hokusai's print is probably the left-hand sheet of a diptych. 926.18.620


あかまつ のりすけ
坂田 半五郎
春朗画

93

)

Kiyomine

94 **Kiyomine.** A girl dressing for a visit to a shrine, with the assistance of a maid. From a series *Onna fūzoku ishō-zuke,* "Women's customs in putting on costume."

ōban, 36.2 x 25.9; censorship seals *kiwame* and *Tora-jū,* "the Tiger year, tenth month."

Signature: *Kiyomine ga.*

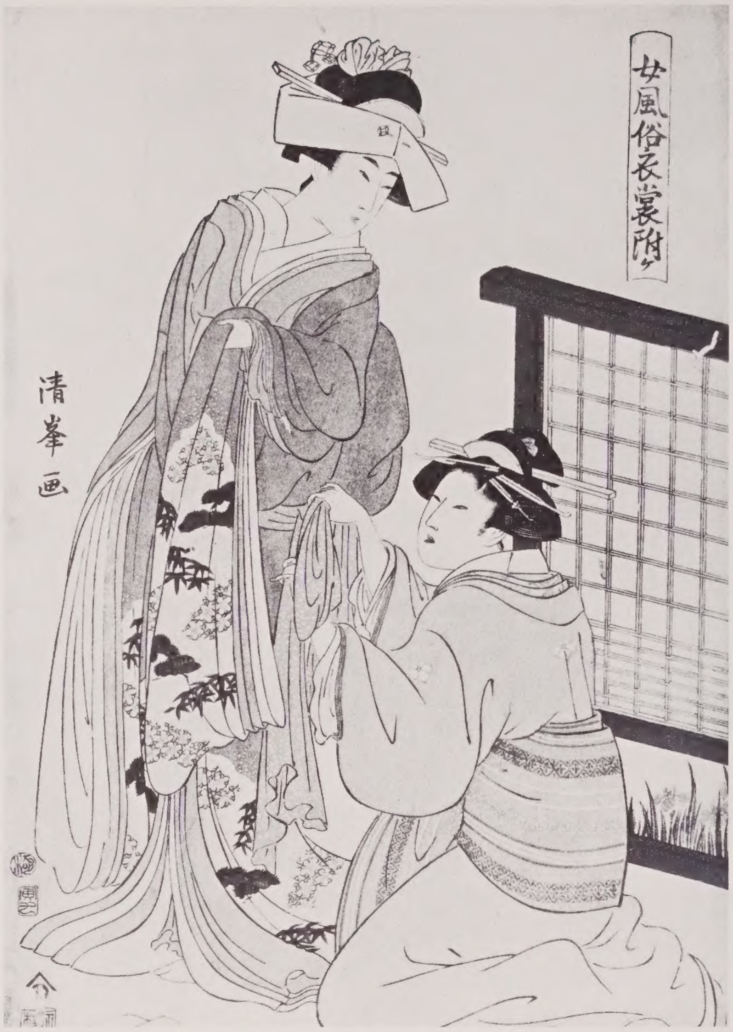
Publisher: trademark and seal *Eiju-han* of Nishimura Yohachi (Eijudō).

Date: 1806 (by censorship seal).

Another of the set: TKH 2, Pl. 163. It seems to be uncertain how many prints constitute this series, which is some ways reminiscent of Utamaro and which is probably Kiyomine's best work.

Torii Kiyomine was the son-in-law (not the grandson, as sometimes stated) of Kiyomitsu, and the son of a gold thread embroiderer. He was a pupil of Kiyonaga, at first used the name Kiyomine, but in 1815 changed to Kiyomitsu II. He specialised in Kabuki signs and playbills, and died in 1867 at the age of eighty-two.

The *tsuno-kakushi,* "horn-hider," was worn by women when visiting a Shintō shrine or Buddhist monastery. It did not come into use for wedding ceremonies until after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 (Naramoto, 1962, Vol. v, p. 113). 926.18.451



94

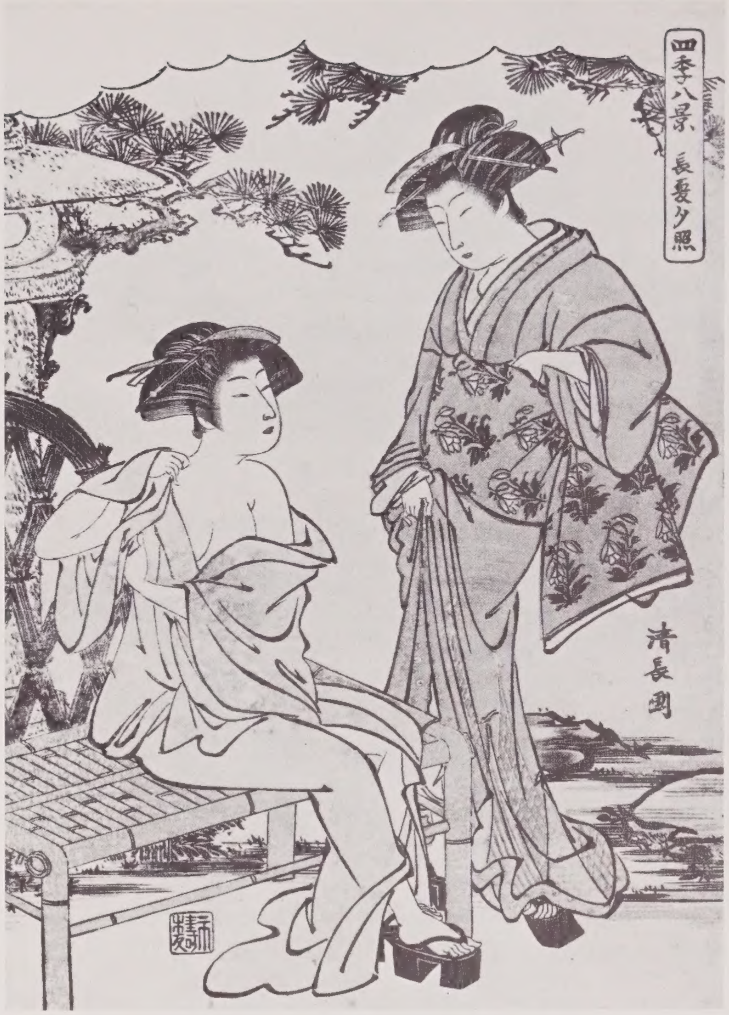
Kiyonaga

95 **Kiyonaga.** *Chōka no sekishō,* "The Afterglow of Late Summer." Series: *Shiki hakkei,* "Eight Scenes of the Four Seasons."

chūban, 25.6 x 18.1; 6(?) colour blocks.
Signature: *Kiyonaga ga.*
Publisher: seal *Eiju han* of Nishimuraya.
Date: 1779 (*ap.* Hirano).

Another specimen: Hirano (1939), No. 185 and Pl. xvi. Miss Hirano describes the print as follows (p. 227): "A geisha, a medium blue *yukata* wrapped loosely about her, is cooling herself on a bench in a garden after taking a bath. Another geisha dressed in a bluish purple kimono tied with a red brocaded obi stands talking beside her. A stone lantern and a pine tree beyond a little fancy fence."

Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815) was a pupil of Kiyomitsu, by whose family he was adopted, and his earliest works were conventional *yakusha-e* and pictorial theatre programmes (*banzuke*). He came into his own, however, with early sets such as the *Shiki hakkei* and *Hakone shichito meisho* represented here, and with his continuation of Koryūsai's *Hinagata* series (cf. Nos. 116-18). His work also shows the influence of Shigemasa and Bunchō. Most of his best prints, which have been exhaustively catalogued by Miss Chie Hirano, seem to belong to the 1780s. I have quoted several of Miss Hirano's descriptions for the sake of their period charm, as well as for their accuracy. 926.18.282



95

96 **Kiyonaga.** *Seishū no rakugan,* "Geese Descending in Mid-Autumn." Series: *Shiki hakkei,* "Eight Scenes of the Four Seasons."

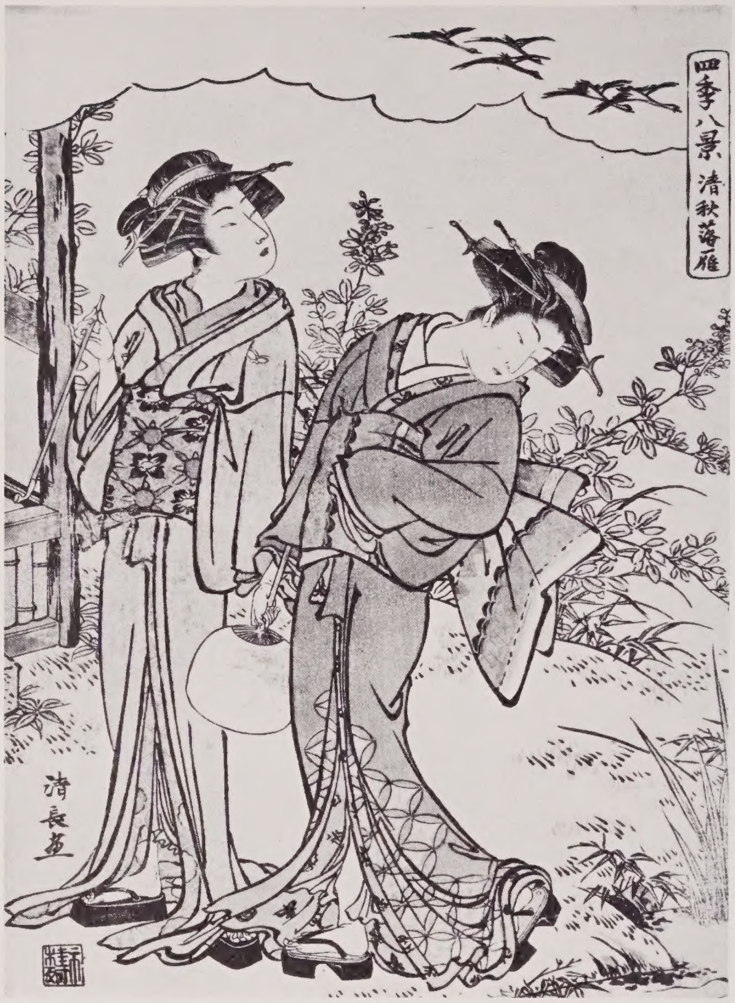
chūban, 25.6 x 18.4; 6(?) colour blocks, overprinting.
Signature: *Kiyonaga ga.*
Publisher: seal *Eiju han* of Nishimuraya.
Date: 1779 (*ap.* Hirano).

Another specimen: Hirano (1939), No. 187 and Pl. XVI. Miss Hirano describes the print as follows: "A married woman, dressed in a purple kimono and yellow brocaded obi, and carrying a fan in hand, is standing in a garden. A maiden, dressed in a blue kimono and a polychrome brocaded obi with a pipe in hand, looks back at the passing geese. A pavilion, a stream, and a lespedeza bush form the background" (p. 228). 926.18.283

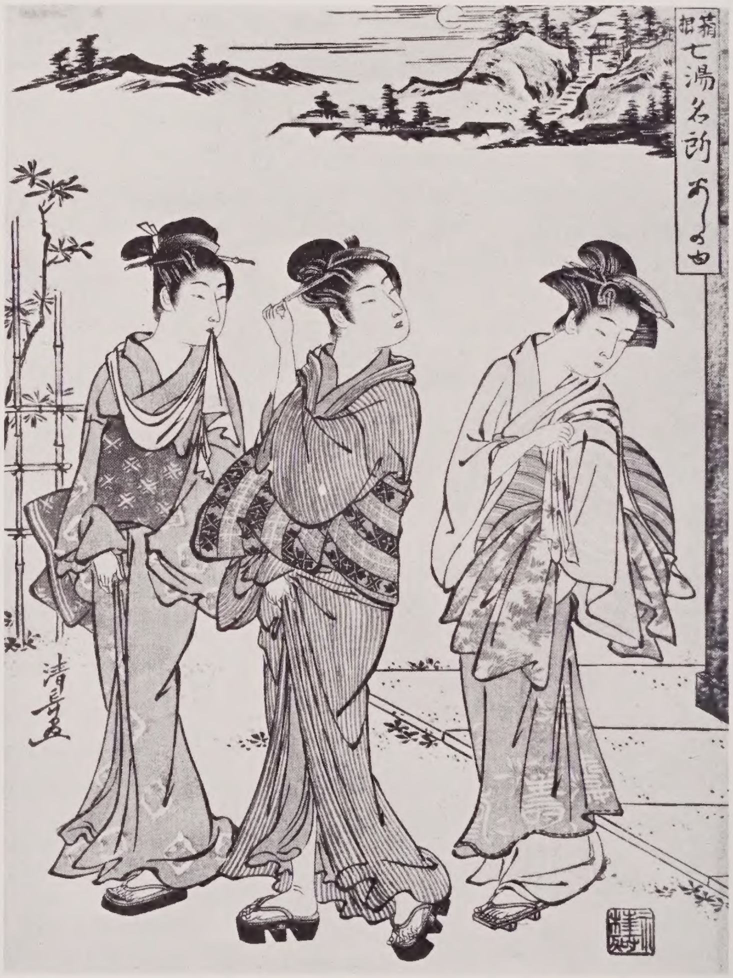
97 **Kiyonaga.** *Ashinoyu,* from the series *Hakone shichito meisho,* "Seven Noted Hot Springs in Hakone."

chūban, 25.6 x 19.1; 6 colour blocks; some oxidation.
Signature: *Kiyonaga ga.*
Publisher: seal *Eiju han* of Nishimuraya.
Date: 1780 (*ap.* Hirano).

Another specimen. Hirano (1939), No. 245 and Pl. XX. Miss Hirano describes the print as follows: "Two geisha are leaving a bathouse. One is dressed in a blue *yukata* and an olive-coloured obi, a towel in her mouth, and the other, in a white and olive striped kimono tied with a red obi. The latter is touching her hairpin with the left hand. Accompanying them is a maid in a white and blue striped *yukata,* red obi, and blue apron, carrying a white *yukata* under an arm. A mountain shrine is seen in the distance" (p. 241). 926.18.287


四季八景
清秋落雁
清長画

96



97

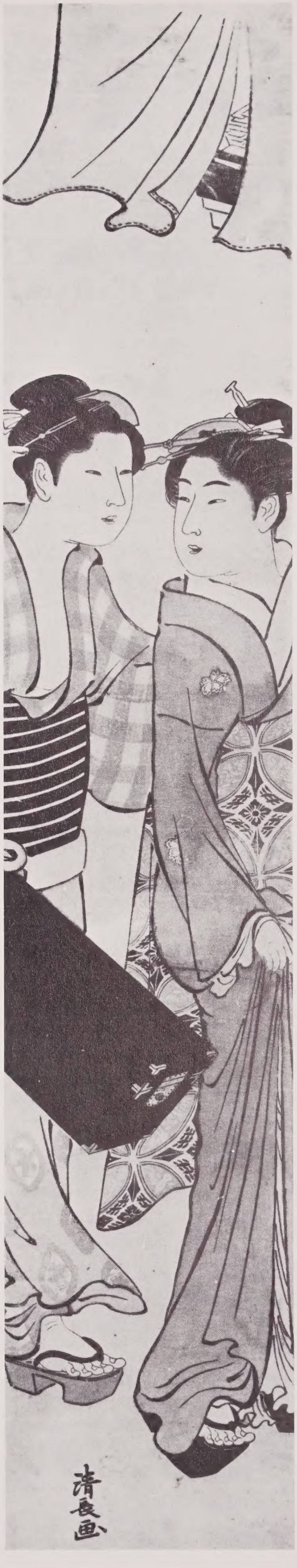
98 **Kiyonaga.** A geisha, followed by her maid, who is carying a *shamisen* box.

hashira-e, 64.8 x 12.2; 5(?) colour blocks; somewhat faded, some air-burning.

Signature: *Kiyonaga ga.*

Date: 1781 (*ap.* Hirano).

Another specimen: Hirano (1939), No. 326. 926.18.267



98

99 **Kiyonaga.** Two young men dressed as *komusō.* One, who is fingering a *shakuhachi,* wears a robe with a design of Kan-u (cf. No. 49 by Toyonobu); the other's robe has a design of a boy playing a flute on the back of an ox. The poem (T) reads:

shakuhachi no	*Shakuhachi* pieces
mono saezuri ya	have an insistent sound
tsuru no koe	like the voice of a crane.

hashira-e, 70.3 x 12.1; 5 colour blocks; slight oxidation, air-burning.

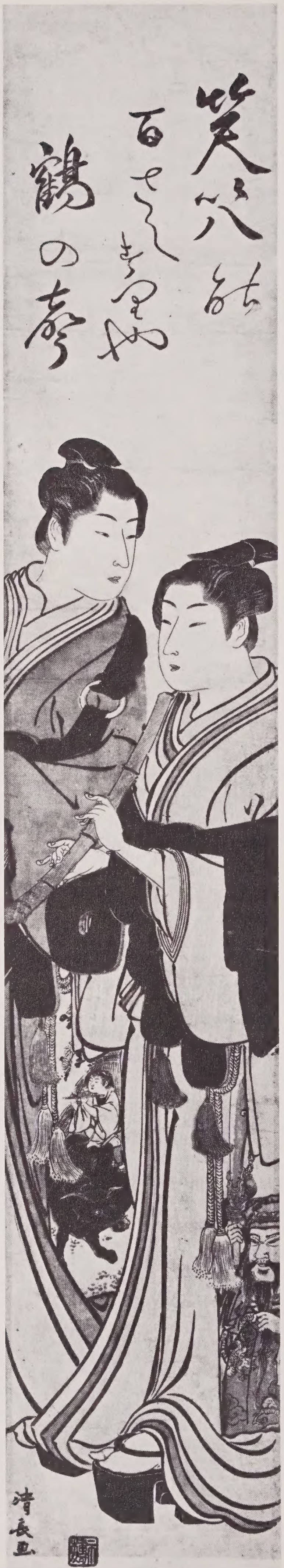
Signature: *Kiyonaga ga.*

Publisher: seal *Eiju han* of Nishimura Yohachi (Eijudō).

Date: 1782 (*ap.* Hirano).

Another specimen in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.5524 [Spaulding 11:7]: also Hirano, 1939, No. 394). There is a pillar- print by Shunchō of the same subject, also in Boston (MFAB: 21.5961 [Spaulding 11-10]).

The high *geta* which the two young men are wearing replaced straw sandals as footgear for *komusō* at about this period. 926.18.262



99

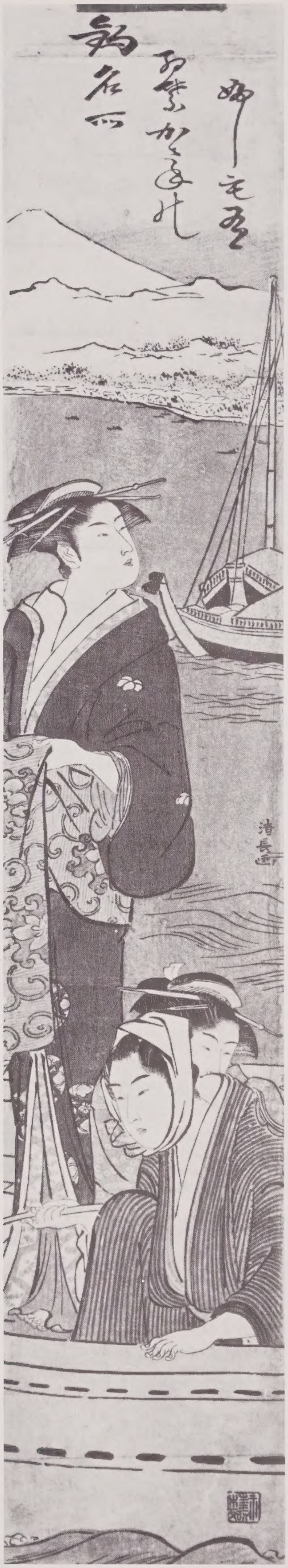
100 **Kiyonaga.** A youth fishing with two women in a boat. (For the poem, *v. infra.*)

hashira-e, 69.6 x 12.4; 5 colour blocks; repaired (T).
Signature: *Kiyonaga ga.*
Publisher: seal *Eiju han* of Nishimura.
Date: 1784 (*ap.* Hirano).

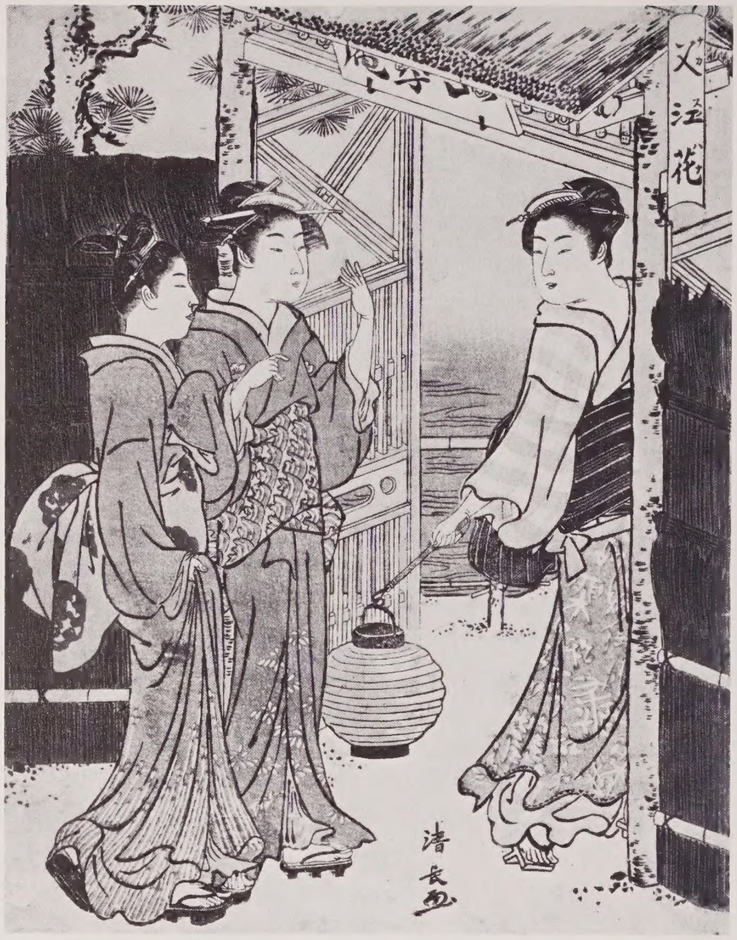
Miss Hirano knows only of the Toronto specimen, and describes it as follows: "A youth is seated, fishing with a rod and line. He is clad in a blue and purple striped kimono, his head wrapped in a towel. A *shinzō* in pink seated behind him puts her sleeve over his left shoulder. A *yūjo* dressed in a bluish purple kimono and red and yellow brocaded obi is standing. Anchored boats are in the middle ground and Mt. Fuji is seen far beyond the shore where houses and colored trees stand. The inscription reads as follows:

Tsuri meisho momiji gasané no Fuji mo ari

'Oh, this famous place for fishing! Mt. Fuji with its skirt adorned with colored maples also can be seen from here'". (Hirano, 1939, No. 674) 926.18.264



100



101

101 Kiyonaga. Two geisha entering the Shiki-an, or “Four Seasons” Restaurant, at Nakasu. Series: *Nakasu no hana,* “Flowers of Nakasu.”

chūban, 25.2 x 19.4; some damage (B).
Signature: *Kiyonaga ga.*
Date: 1788 or 9.

This print, which is from a set of eight, is described by Miss Hirano (1939), No. 362, as follows: “Looking through the gateway of Shikian, a noted restaurant, is a maid clad in a pink, yellow, and white checked *yukata,* black striped obi, and blue apron, carrying a red lantern marked ‘Shikian.’ She is leading two geisha to a landing. One, dressed in a violet kimono and blue brocaded obi, is talking to the maid. The other, in a blue kimono and pink obi, her side turned toward the spectator and her left hand in the sleeve held over her chest, walks beside the first one.”

Miss Hirano dates the print 1781, but it can be shown that this is probably too early. Nakasu (alternative name Mitsumata) was one of the *okabasho,* or illegal pleasure quarters, of Edo. It opened in 1775, being built on land reclaimed in 1772 from an area lying south of the Shintai bridge over the Sumida River. It became a popular spot during the summer months for cooling oneself in the evening, and there were many small tea-houses (*mizu-chaya*) there by the water. Most well-known, however, was the large restaurant known as the Shiki-an: following the destruction by fire of the Yoshiwara in 1787, courtesans from the Ōgiya (see No. 129) and from other establishments took up temporary residence there. Hence a later poem:

wakai toki *Nakasu ni asonda wa* *oyaji*	When they were young, they took their pleasure at Nakasu – our parents!

In 1789 (tenth month), however, the houses were demolished, and the land was allowed to revert to its former state, and it was not reclaimed again until 1888 (NCD, s.v.; Ōmagari, 1955). It therefore makes best sense to regard Kiyonaga’s prints of Nakasu as commemorating the brief stay there of girls from the Yoshiwara in 1788 and the earlier part of 1789.
926.18.274

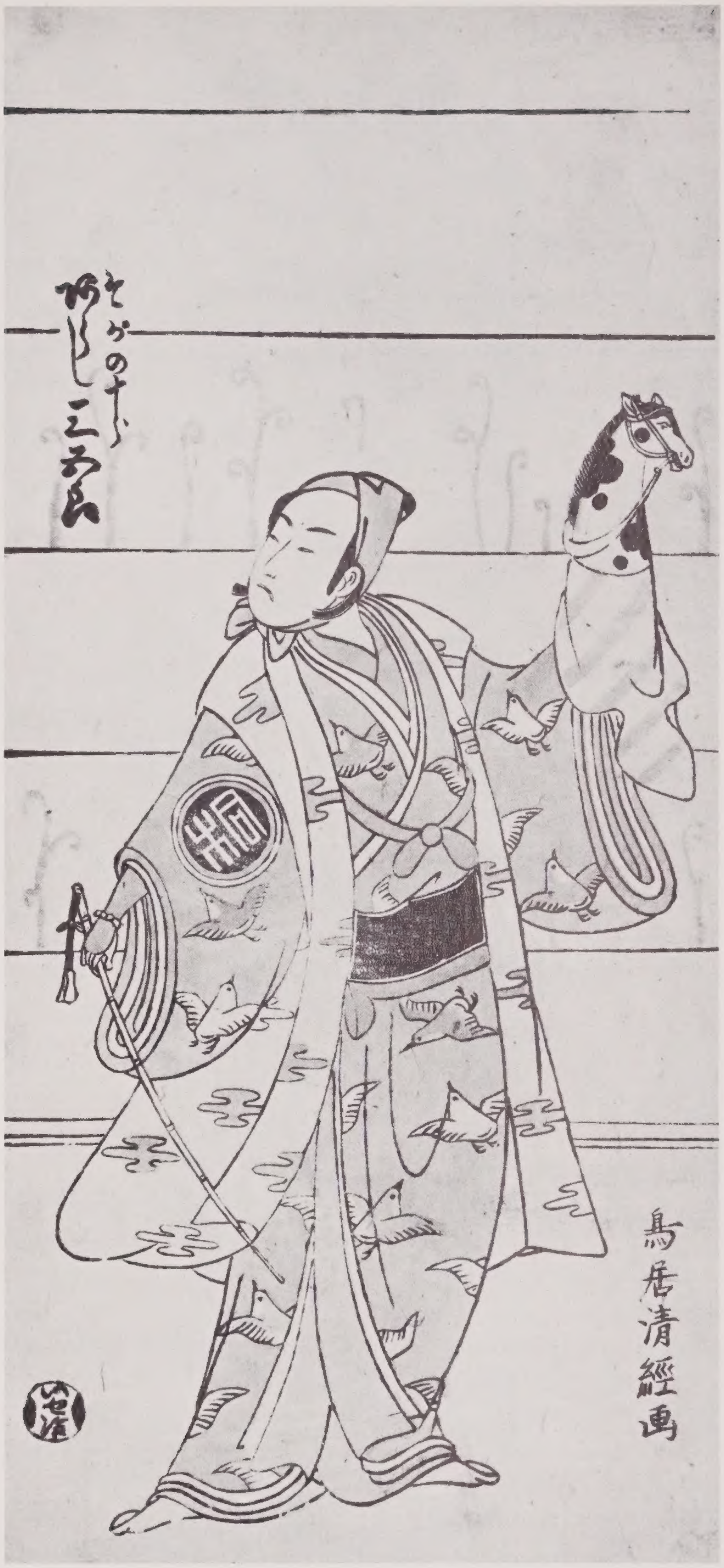
Kiyotsune

102 Kiyotsune. *Arashi Sangorō* II as *Soga Jūrō.* He holds a hand puppet of a horse in one hand, a riding crop in the other, as he performs a spring-time *harugoma* dance.

hosoe, 30.6 x 14.0, 2 colour blocks (pink, blue).
Signature: *Torii Kiyotsune ga.*
Publisher: *Ise-Ji.*
Date: 1771.

The play is probably *Wada sakamori osame no mitsugumi,* presented at the Ichimuraza from the ninth day, second month, 1771 (KN 4, pp. 170-4; KND, pp. 326-27). Arashi Sangorō had returned to Edo from Kyōto in the autumn of the previous year (KN 4, p. 149). For another print showing Sangorō, cf. Waterhouse (1964), Pl. 115.

Torii Kiyotsune may have been a pupil of Kiyomitsu, but his style reflects the influence of Harunobu. The Walker print is an unusually good example of his work.
926.18.159


そがの十郎
あらし三五郎
鳥居清經画

102

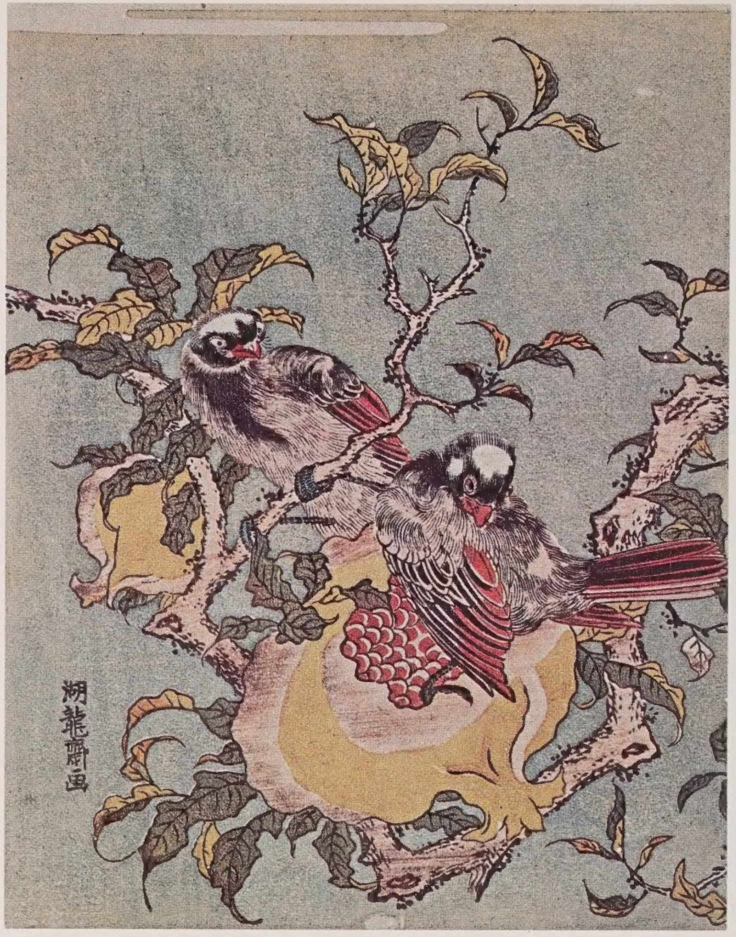
Koryūsai

103 **Koryūsai.** A pair of brightly coloured birds, perhaps cardinals, eating a pomegranate.

chūban, 23.1 x 18.2; 7(?) colour blocks; slight oxidation.
Signature: *Koryūsai ga.*
Date: *c.* 1770.

There is another specimen of this print in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.8240 [Spaulding 5-1]), with slightly different colouring.

Isoda Koryūsai (fl. later 1760s – ealier 1780s) was a prolific print designer who began by working the vein started by Harunobu, but evolved his own distinctive style, especially with the long series of fashion plates *Hinagata wakana no hatsu moyō.* Many of his prints belong to small sets of eight or twelve prints; he also specialised in *hashira-e,* and in later life is said to have abandoned print-making for painting. 926.18.136

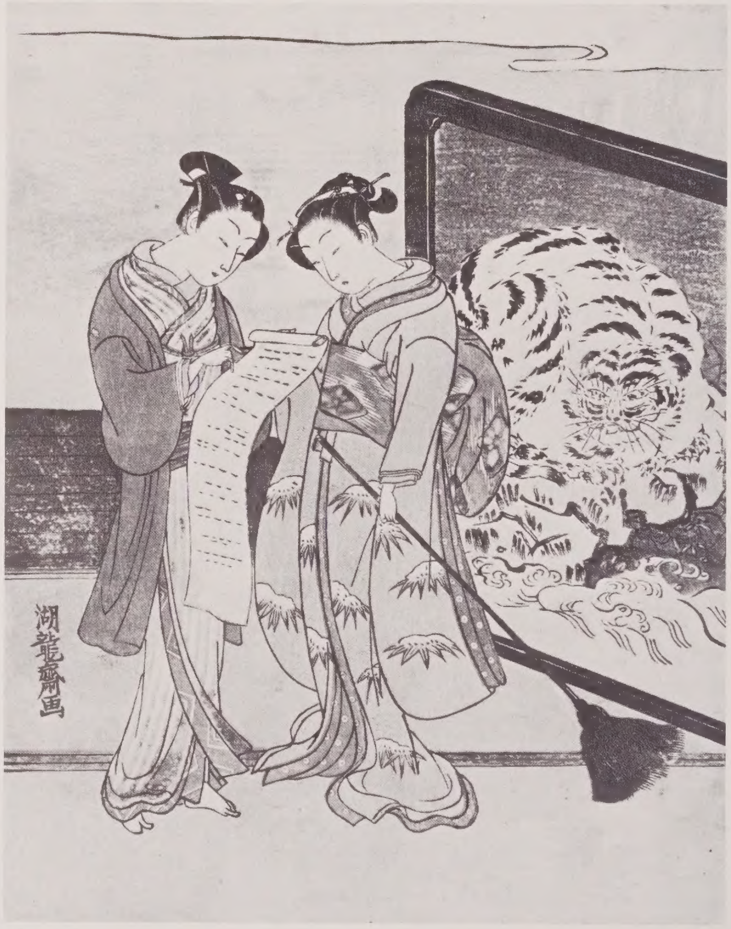


103

104 **Koryūsai.** Parody of Kanzan and Jittoku.

chūban, 25.1 x 19.5; 6 colour blocks; some oxidation.
Signature: *Koryūsai ga.*
Date: *c.* 1770.

Kanzan and Jittoku (Han-shan and Shih-tê) are a favourite subject for *mitate* or "parody" prints. Japanese depictions of the two friendly monks owe their original inspiration to ink-paintings by Yüan artists, especially Yen Hui (late thirteenth century), whose version is preserved in the Tōkyō National Museum. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has paintings of Kanzan and Jittoku (11.7038 and 11.7009) by Soga Shōhaku (1730-81), who was a contemporary of Koryūsai and who was greatly inspired by the Zen painting of the Muromachi period. In *ukiyoe* the religious overtones are, however, completely absent, and we simply see a pair of lovers, one with Han-shan's scroll, the other with Shih-tê's broom. The tiger on the screen in Koryūsai's print is also part of the allusion, since their friend Fêng-kan once startled them by riding on the back of a tiger. For Shigenaga and Harunobu prints of Kanzan and Jittoku, cf. Waterhouse (1964), Pll. 104 and 47. 926.18.134



104

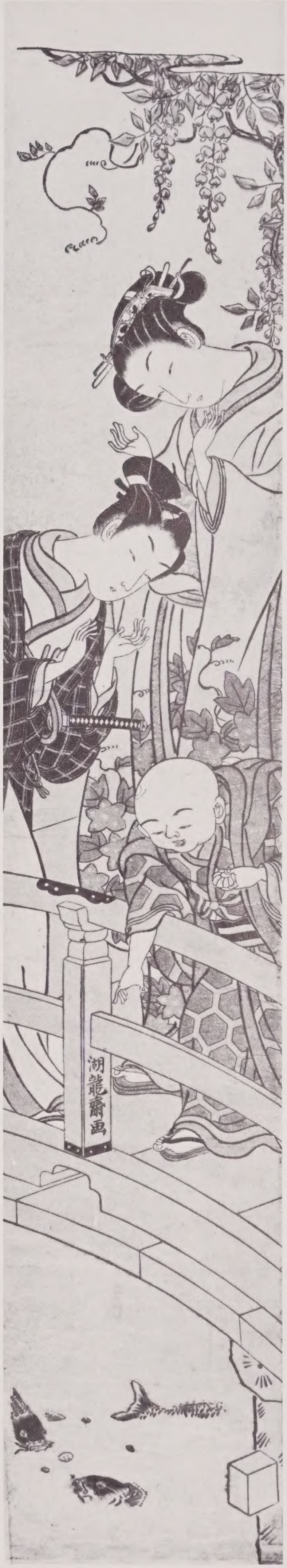
105 Koryūsai. Feeding the carp from the Taiko-bashi, or Drum Bridge, at the Kameido Shrine north-east of Edo. The scene is framed by the trailing wisteria for which the shrine is famous.

hashira-e, 68.9 x 12.3; 6 colour blocks.
Signature: *Koryūsai ga.*
Date: *c.* 1770.

This specimen: Vignier (1910), No. 321 and Pl. xxxvi; Ficke (1920), No. 135 and Pl. There are other specimens in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.8387 [Spaulding 11-6]); in the Art Institute of Chicago (Gentles, 1965, p. 202 and Pl.); in the Tōkyō National Museum (TKH 1, Pl. 710); and in the collection of Mr. Robert F. Jacobs of Natick, Mass. The subject is also illustrated in Sotheby (1911.4.3), No. 94 and Pl. vii; Gookin (1915), No. 334; and Hōchi Shimbunsha (1928), p. 51.

There is another version of this pillar-print, also by Koryūsai, showing the same bridge and much the same trailing wisteria overhead: but with a courting couple standing on the bridge, and no carp in the pond. Boston also has this print (MFAB: 21.21243; and cf. UZ 2, Fig. 98). Koryūsai did a *chūban* version too, showing two girls feeding the fish: see Waterhouse (1964), Pl. 91.

The Kameido Shrine was founded in 1645, and is dedicated to Sugawara no Michizane (see No. 30 in this catalogue). It is famous both for the wisteria and for the Drum Bridge. Terry's *Guide to the Japanese Empire,* published in 1920, deserved to be quoted regarding the latter (p. 230): "Just within the inclosure is a locally celebrated Drum Bridge (*Taiko-bashi*), a time-worn structure over whose high hump devotees climb (risky with high-heeled shoes) as an act of special devotion to the divinity to whom the shrine is consecrated. Ladies usually elect to approach the shrine along the picturesque pathways at the right and left of the pond." In the Edo period the name of the shrine was Tōzai-fu Temmangū, and it acquired its present name Kameido Tenjinja in 1873 (Anzu, 1968). 926.18.145



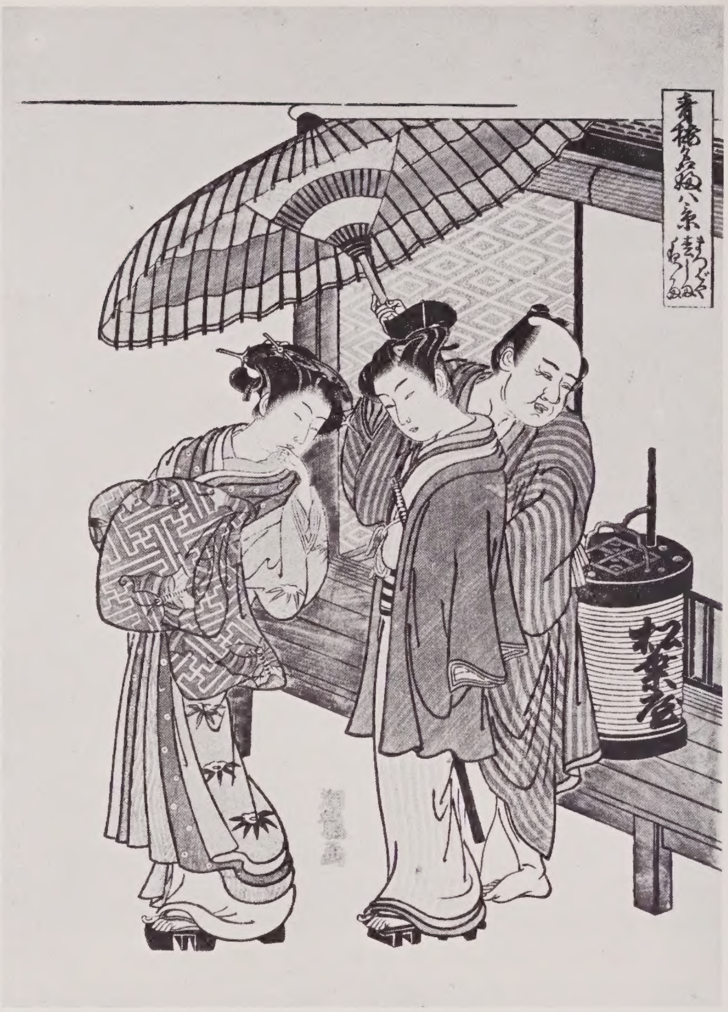
105

106 Koryūsai. *Matsubaya Harushima no ya-u,* "Night Rain on Harushima of the Matsubaya," from series *Seirō meibutsu hakkei,* "Eight Views of Famous Products of the Red Light District." The courtesan Harushima is standing in the rain with a client, under a large umbrella held by a manservant. On the verandah behind them is a lantern with the name of the house (*Matsubaya*) on it.

chūban, 26.6 x 19.5; 6 colour blocks, *karazuri,* for the rain (L) and the *shōji* (R).
Signature: *Koryū ga* (in blue, faded).
Date: *c.* 1770.

There is another print from this set (a parody of the "Eight Views" theme) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.19563).

The Matsubaya, at the corner of 1-*chōme,* Edo-machi, in the Yoshiwara, was one of the best-known establishments of the period. The *Yoshiwara taizen* (1768), in a section on famous food-products of the Yoshiwara, refers to it as follows: "Dried sardine slices (*tatami-iwashi*), boiled beans and blue plums were once made as famed products (*meibutsu*) of the brothels, but now the only one who retains this custom is Matsubaya Hanzaemon of Edo-machi" (see Sobu, 1930, p. 167). Cf. also No. 163.
926.18.133



106

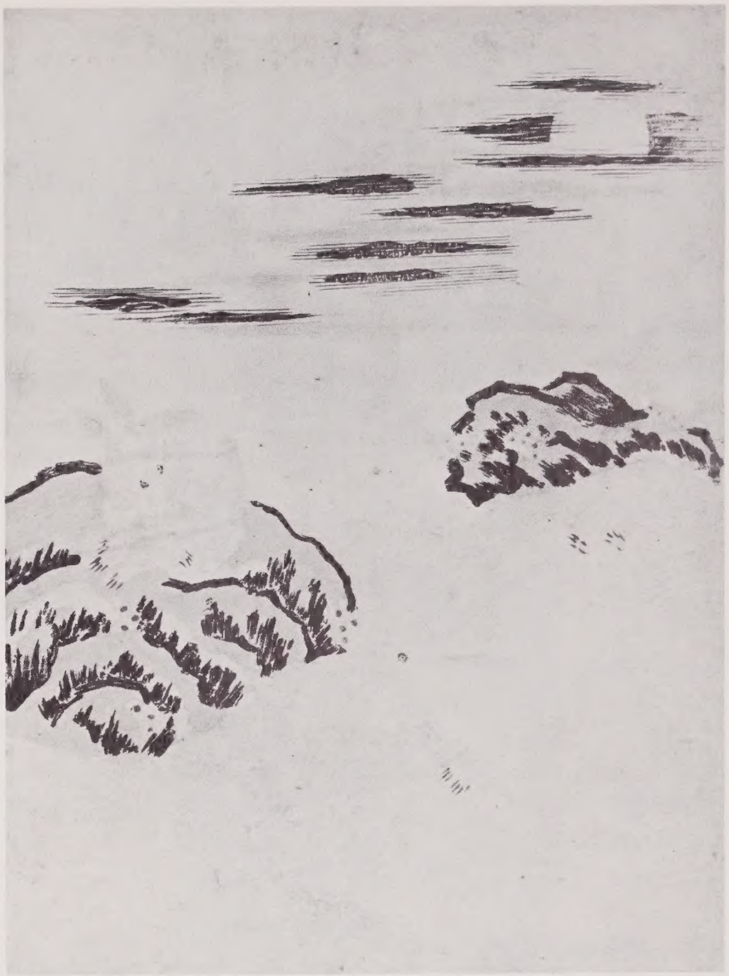
107 **Koryūsai.** Two hares, the one seated on a rock, the other leaping across a turbulent sea, beneath the light of the full moon.

chūban, 28.0 x 21.0; 4(?) colour blocks, *karazuri*; much faded.
Unsigned.
Date: *c.* 1770.

Other specimens in BM (1927.7.11.05); in AIC (Gentles, 1965, p. 204; Sotheby, 1910.12.2, No. 47 and Pl. v); and MFAB (Res. 54.58: probably a later printing).

There seem to have been at least two editions of this print, of which the Walker and the British Museum specimens (both somewhat faded) represent the earlier. The Chicago specimen is in very good condition, and the description of it in the Sotheby catalogue deserves to be quoted, in order to convey the full effect of the design: "Two Hares, one white with pink ears seated on a rock licking its fur, and the other a warm brown, running across a churned-up eddy of waves between rocks, under a full moon in a green sky streaked with pink and black. The waves and the white hare rendered by gauffrage."

The traditional explanation of this print is that found in, for example, *Ehon kojidan* (1714): that the female hare conceives by running on the waves on the eighteenth day of the eighth moon of the year, if the sky is clear, or by licking the fur of the male during the same period. Miss Gentles gives a simpler explanation, that on nights when the moon is full hares can run over the waves of the sea without sinking. In Chinese folklore the hare has long been a synonym for the moon, and he is seen there pounding rice in a mortar already on mirrors of the T'ang dynasty. According to the *Êrh Ya I,* a Sung dynasty commentary on the *Êrh Ya,* the hare produces its young by gazing at the moon (DKJ, s.v. *usagi*): and there is a pillar-print by Koryūsai in the Art Institute of Chicago (Gentles, 1965, p. 270) which shows a hare doing this. 926.18.131



107

108 **Koryūsai.** A girl dressed as a *komusō* is playing a *shakuhachi* outside the garden fence of her lover, who sits indoors accompanying her on a shoulder drum (*ko-tsuzumi*), and looking in her direction.

chūban, 26.5 x 20.1; 6(?) colour blocks, overprinting.
Signature: *Koryū ga.*
Date: ealier 1770s.

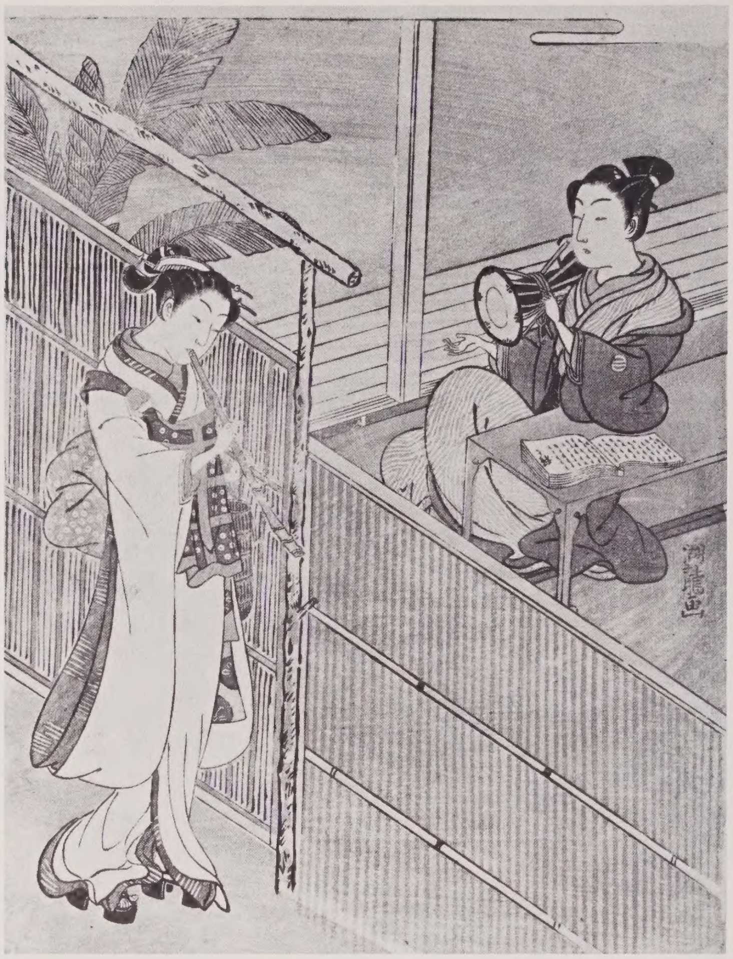
No other specimens traced. 926.18.138

110 **Koryūsai.** A cat hunting goldfish. Behind him, a cycad in a wooden tub.

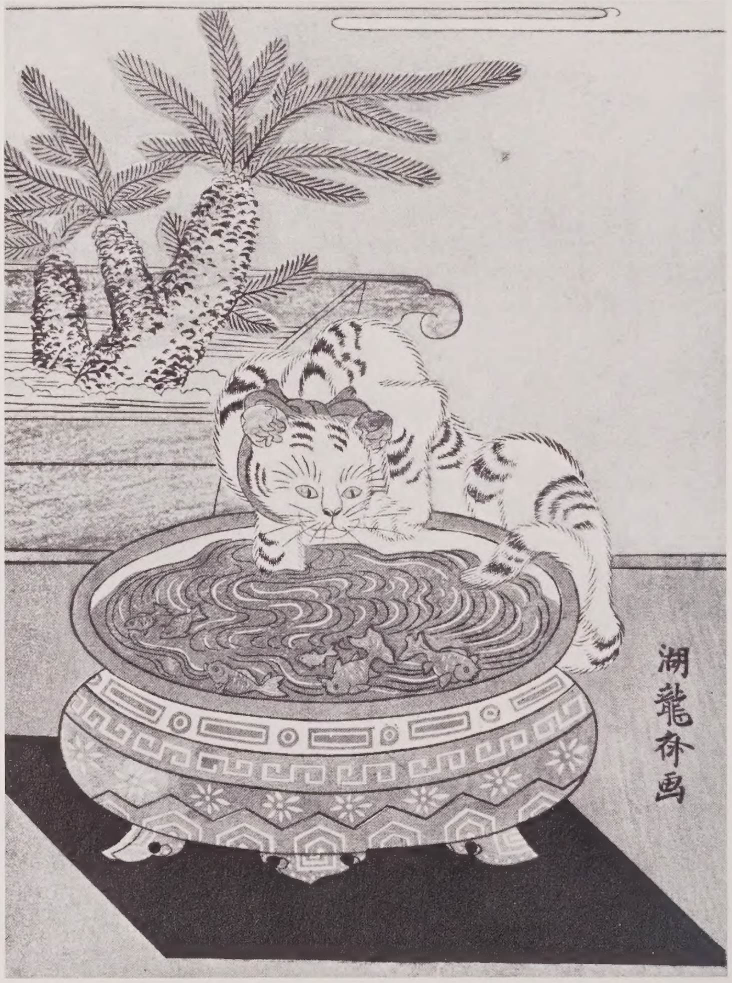
chūban, 24.9 x 18.3; 7(?) colour blocks, *karazuri;* slight oxidation.
Signature: *Koryūsai ga.*
Date: early 1770s.

There are other specimens of this appealing print in the Art Institute of Chicago (Gentles, 1965, p. 224 and Pl.); in the British Museum (1965.6.12.06: *ex* Sotheby, 1965.5.3, No. 118); and in the Fogg Art Museum (1933.4.2791 [Duel Coll.]). The British Museum specimen has the Hayashi seal; on both it and the Fogg specimen the blue has faded.

One may compare a Koryūsai print of a boy removing a fish from a tub, in Gillot (1904), No. 307, and a large Kiyomitsu (Sotheby, 1965.5.3, No. 65 and Pl.) showing a group of boys, with a cat, fishing from a bowl. 926.18.129



108



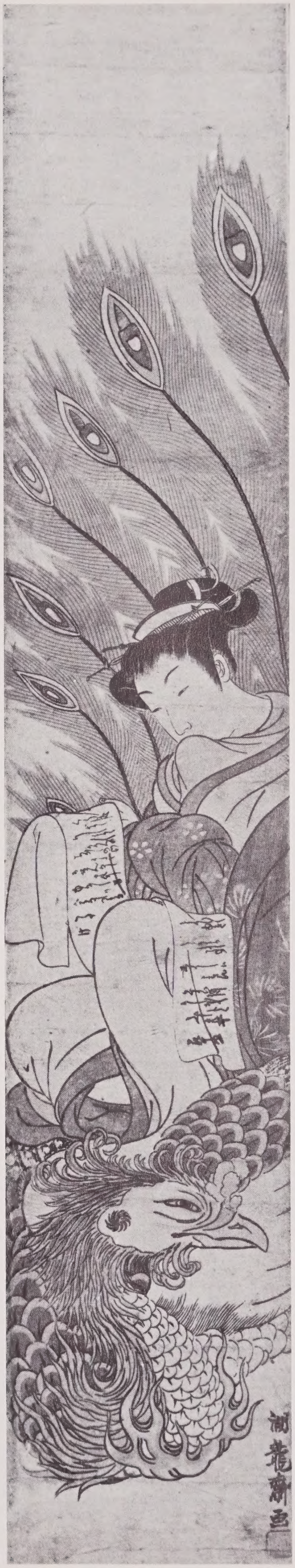
110

109 **Koryūsai.** A courtesan reading a long love letter, and seated on a phoenix.

hashira-e, 66.5 x 12.1; 5(?) colour blocks, overprinting; surface soiled.
Signature: *Koryūsai ga,* seal *Masakatsu* (in red).
Date: early 1770s.

Other specimens in the Fogg Art Museum (17-71R) and in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (06.1291). The subject is illustrated in Haviland (1922), No. 96 and Pl. v.

Gookin (1908), No. 202, illustrates a *chūban* print of a similar bird, also by Koryūsai. The idea of depicting courtesans and other girls on the back of mythical birds, fish, and other animals seems to have been made popular by Harunobu. There is an unsigned calendar print by him for 1765, which shows a girl riding on a phoenix and holding a *shō* (mouth-organ): this is illustrated, for example, by Hillier (1970), No. 21. Also compare No. 64 in this catalogue. The phoenix was the Red Bird of the South, one of the Four Constellations of Chinese directional theory, and was associated with the goddess Nü Kua. 926.18.141



109

111 Koryūsai. *Meguro no aki no hana,* "Autumn flowers at Meguro," from the series *Fūryū Edo meisho jikkei,* "Ten Fashionable Views of Famous Places in Edo." We see a courtesan and her *kamuro* walking by a stream at Meguro. The poem above the stylised cloud line reads:

mochihana mo
Meguro no aki ya
nomiji shite

Though they are only rice-cake flowers,
it is indeed autumn at Meguro –
tinging the maple red!

chūban, 25.9 x 19.5; 6(?) colour blocks; wormage (TC), some fading.

Signature: (1) False signature (BL), *Suzuki Harunobu ga;* (2) Original signature (BR), pasted over, *Koryūsai ga.*

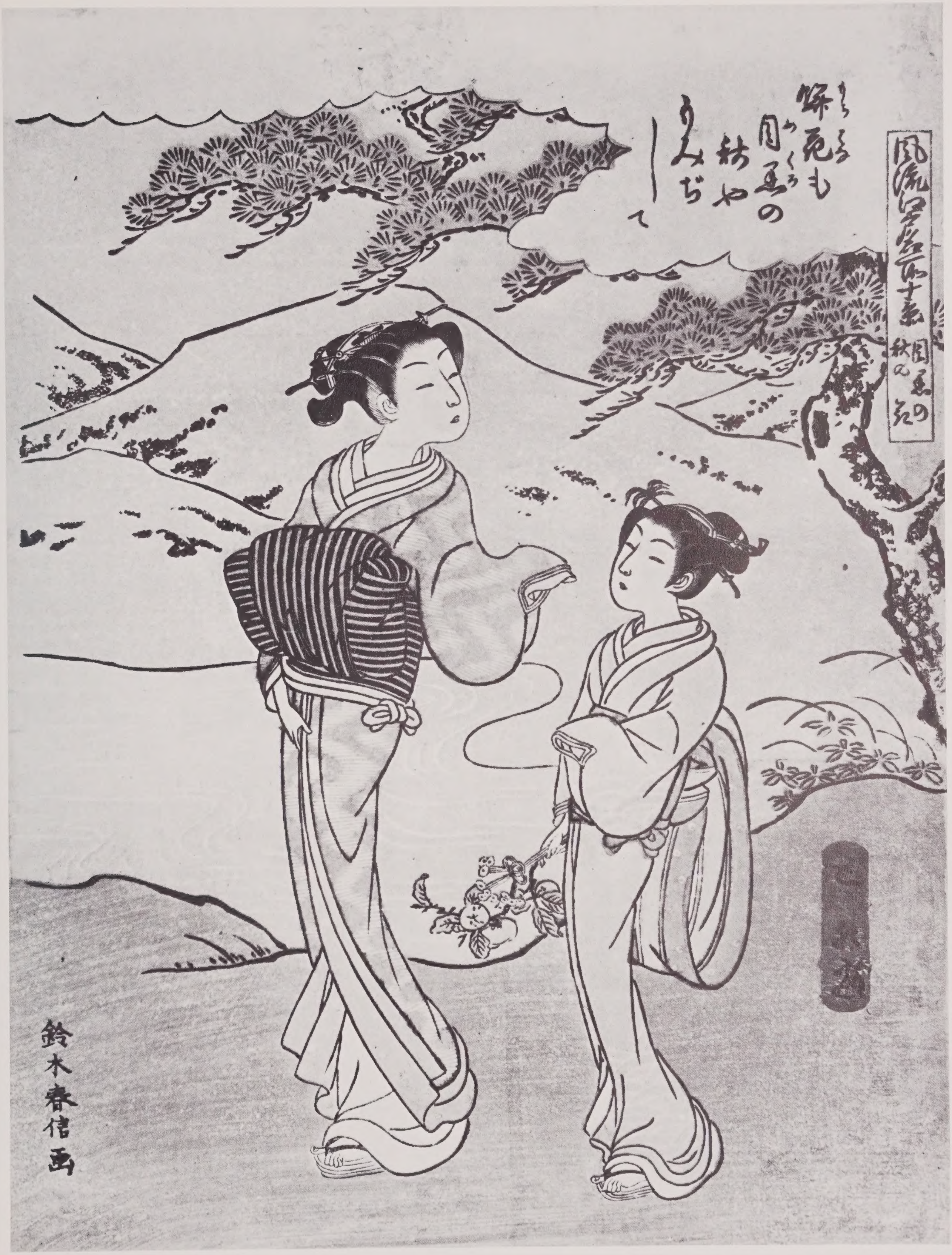
Date: early 1770s.

The signature on this print has been clumsily covered over, and a false block with the signature of Harunobu added on the opposite side. There is an undoctored specimen in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.8284 [Spaulding 5-2]), and another is illustrated in Kegan Paul (n.d.), Pl. 22. Boston also has two others of the set (Box 14-30-B).

Meguro, to the south of Edo, was a favourite spot for outings – especially to the Fudō-dō, where among other attractions there was an image reputed to have been carved by the great Jikaku Daishi himself in the ninth century. The twenty-eighth of each month was an auspicious day to visit Meguro, and the first, fifth and ninth months were the best of the year. Another popular day was the thirteenth of the twelfth month, when the image would be placed on view as part of the annual cleaning of the monastery, and crowds of pilgrims would gather the night before. At Meguro various sweetmeats were on sale as offerings to the monastery, but above all there were flat, round cakes known as *mochihana,* "rice-cake flowers." Ōmagari (1955), Vol. II, p. 703, quotes from the *Edo sunago,* which was first published in 1732 and issued in a revised edition in 1772: "Meguro *mochihana* are a famous product of Meguro. They colour them red and white and yellow: they split bamboo and tie it like a flower-shaped hair-pin; then, taking small pieces of the coloured rice-cakes, they decorate it. Some people make a cluster of uniform long-stemmed flowers bloom on twigs of box or spindle-wood."

When visiting Meguro, it was the custom not only to buy *mochihana,* but also to make a detour on the way back, to Shinagawa, which was the first station outside Edo on the Tōkaidō, and where there were numerous houses of assignation. To visit Meguro without also going to Shinagawa was a mark of stinginess, alluded to in more than one humorous poem of the period (Hamada, 1968, p. 462).

The girl on Koryūsai's print is thus probably a courtesan from Shinagawa with her maid, who is carrying both the *mochihana* on a twisted bamboo stalk and what are probably large dumplings attached to a small branch. Nishitsunoi Masayoshi (1958), pp. 827-29, has shown that in many parts of Japan there exists a custom of attaching rice-cakes or dumplings to a flowering tree, and that it is also found in China. 926.18.107



111

112 Koryūsai. The Boar, from series *Fūryū jūni eto,* "Twelve Fashionable Gift-Offerings for Each of the Twelve Signs." A young woman (probably a *shinzō)* in a flowing *kimono* is holding up on a piece of paper an *inokomochi,* or "piglet cake," which she has received for the Black Boar Festival. Behind her is a tray with more such cakes, presided over by a second girl, probably a senior courtesan. A third girl sits in attendance.

chūban, 22.9 x 16.0; 7 colour blocks.
Signature: *Koryūsai ga.*
Date: early 1770's

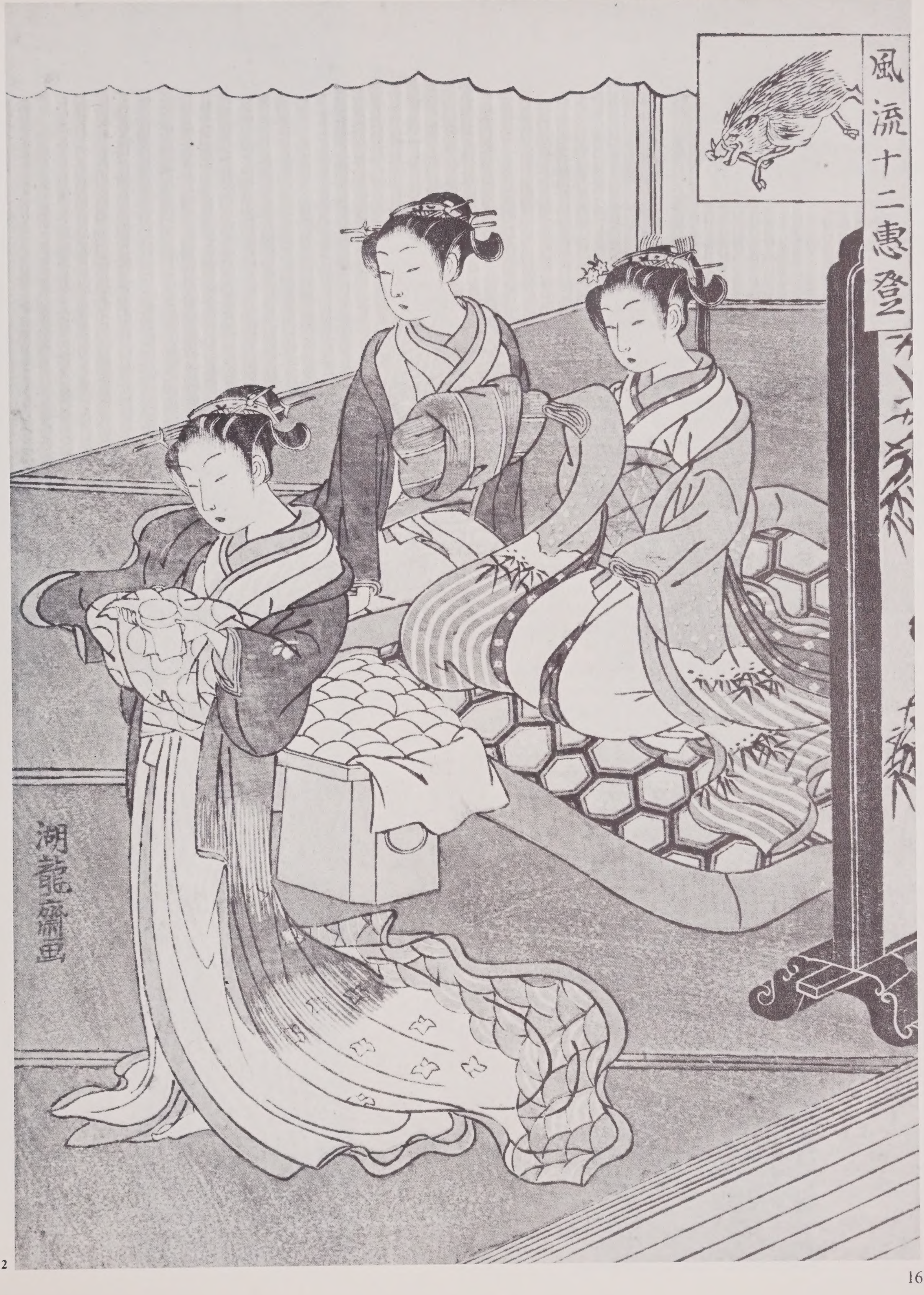
This print is one of a set illustrating each of the twelve months by reference to the signs of the zodiac. Boston has the print for the Rat month (MFAB: 11.19755 [14-32-E]).

The Boar, or Hog, is the tenth month in the lunar calendar, and for an understanding of this print one must be acquainted with the etiquette of dumplings. In China there was a popular belief that it was a charm against sickness to eat rice dumplings at the Hour of the Hog (nine to eleven p.m.), on the Day of the Hog, in the month of the Hog. This belief found its way to Japan at the end of the ninth century, and a ceremony was instituted, in which the Emperor was offered rice-cakes of seven different types (since in China they used seven types) which he in turn presented to members of the court. By the Muromachi period rice-cakes of five different colours were in use, and three different kinds of wrapping paper. Both the Emperor and the *Shōgun* performed the ceremony, and it also entered popular awareness, especially in Western Japan, as a festival performed after the harvest. In the Edo period the custom continued, both at the *Shōgun's* castle in Edo and at the imperial palace in Kyōto. By this time the *inokomochi,* or "piglet cakes," as they were called, were black for the senior courtiers and officials, red for the next group, and white for the junior ranks. Children got red ones. The day was divided into three parts, during which the ceremony was performed three times, and the filling in the cakes varied according to the time of day. In Edo the *daimyō* went up to the *Shōgun's* castle to pay their respects just before six o'clock in the evening, when flares were burnt at the two gates of the castle.

However, matters were made slightly more complicated during the fifteenth century, when a gentleman called Mondayū, from the Nose district of Settsu Province, presented to the Emperor in a special box a new type of rice-cake, which was made of small red beans and became known after him as *Nosemochi.* Dressed in long formal attire and with their heads bowed, the feudal lords of the Edo period presented these cakes to the *Shōgun.*

Other names for the *inokomochi* were *gencho,* or "black boar," and *onarikiri.* Properly speaking, the *inokomochi* should be in the shape of a piglet, but in popular practice round buns were used, of the type usually called *botan-mochi,* "peony cakes." Also, the original notion that *inokomochi* would keep away sickness was supplemented by the thought that pigs are prolific animals, so that to eat piglet cakes will bring a large family. For this reason the custom particularly appealed to women. It was also usual at this time to lay the hearth (*robiraki*) for the winter fire. In various forms the *inokomochi* festival has survived into modern times in many parts of rural Japan (see Nishitsunoi, 1958, pp. 59-61; Ōmagari, 1955, Vol. I, p. 592).

Koryūsai's print, as so often in *ukiyoe,* is something of a parody, with one courtesan taking the part of the *Shōgun,* and another acting as a *daimyō,* her long skirts simulating the effect of *nagabakama,* the formal trousers worn at court. 926.18.135


風流十二恵登
湖龍齋画

112

113 Koryūsai. A girl hanging a mosquito net, but being slightly hindered by her cat. The poem reads:

tsurite ni mo	He even ties the mosquito net to its cord –
musubu no kami ya	the God of Marriage!
natsu no tsuki	By the light of the summer moon.

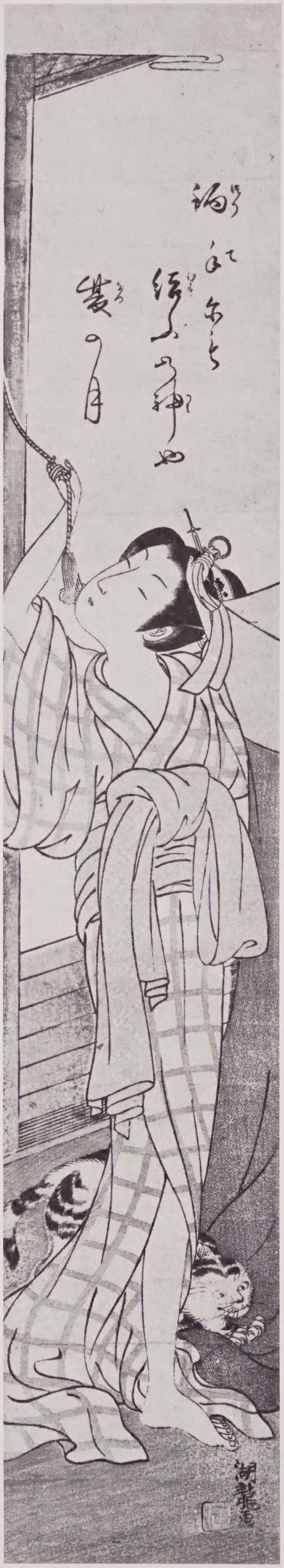
hashira-e, 70.6 x 12.3; 5 colour blocks; horizontal fold-marks, some oxidation.

Signature: *Koryū ga,* seal *Masakatsu.*

Date: *c.* 1775.

There are other specimens of this print in the Art Institute of Chicago (Gentles, 1965, p. 225 and Pl.) and in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.21256 [19-3-D]). The subject is illustrated in Sotheby (1911.1.24), No. 94 and Pl. VI; and Ficke (1920), No. 132 and Pl. One may compare with it a similar pillar-print design by Harunobu, also in both Chicago (Gentles, p. 146) and Boston (MFAB: 21.4572 [Spaulding 11-2]).

The *Nihongi* (eighth century) says that mosquito nets were presented to the Japanese court from China, and the *Engi-shiki* (tenth century) says that they were used at the Ise Shrine: but it is probable that they did not come into general use before the Muromachi period. The original type had a net which was slung from a bamboo pole framework, and drawn aside during the day-time. The day for putting it up or taking it down had to be auspicious, and even today it is unlucky to hang a mosquito net in the fifth month. Nets are usually light green, and made of linen, the most expensive ones being of silk gauze; but in the Tokugawa period they were of cotton or a cotton-linen blend. Various kinds of mosquito net are illustrated in the nineteenth-century compilation of Edo manners, the *Morisada mankō,* including the type seen on Koryūsai's print (and on many other prints of the period: see, for example, No. 75 by Harunobu, in this catalogue), and another which also occasionally appears in *ukiyoe,* the *horo kaya.* This last had a curved bamboo or other wooden framework, and was used especially for children. For a slightly different kind of fastening, cf. No. 46. In Edo, shops for mosquito nets were to be found at Nihonbashi (see SDHJ, s.v. *kaya*). 926.18.142



113

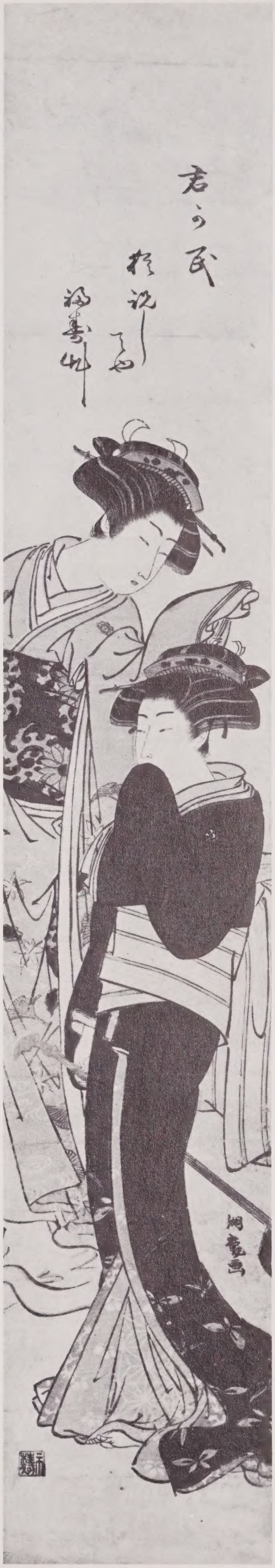
114 **Koryūsai.** Two geisha, one holding a *shamisen.* The poem (T) reads:

kimi ga tami	To our Ruler, the people
nao shuku shite ya	once more offer congratulations!
fukujusō	May he be as Grass of Long Life!

hashira-e, 68.5 x 11.9; 5 colour blocks.
Signature: *Koryū ga.*
Publisher: seal *Eiju han* (of Nishimura Eijudō).
Date 1775-77.

There is another specimen in the Art Institute of Chicago (Gentles, 1965, p. 250); the print is also illustrated in Ficke (n.d.), Pl. 17; and Bremen Art Museum (1922), No. 151 and Pl.

The *fukujusō,* or adonis, is a perennial mountain plant whose name means "Grass of Long Life"; and it is often used as a New Year flower. *Kimi* no doubt refers in the first instance, to the Emperor, but perhaps also to the courtesans of the Yoshiwara – a sense in which the word is sometimes found (Ōmagari, 1955, Vol. I, p. 482).
926.18.144

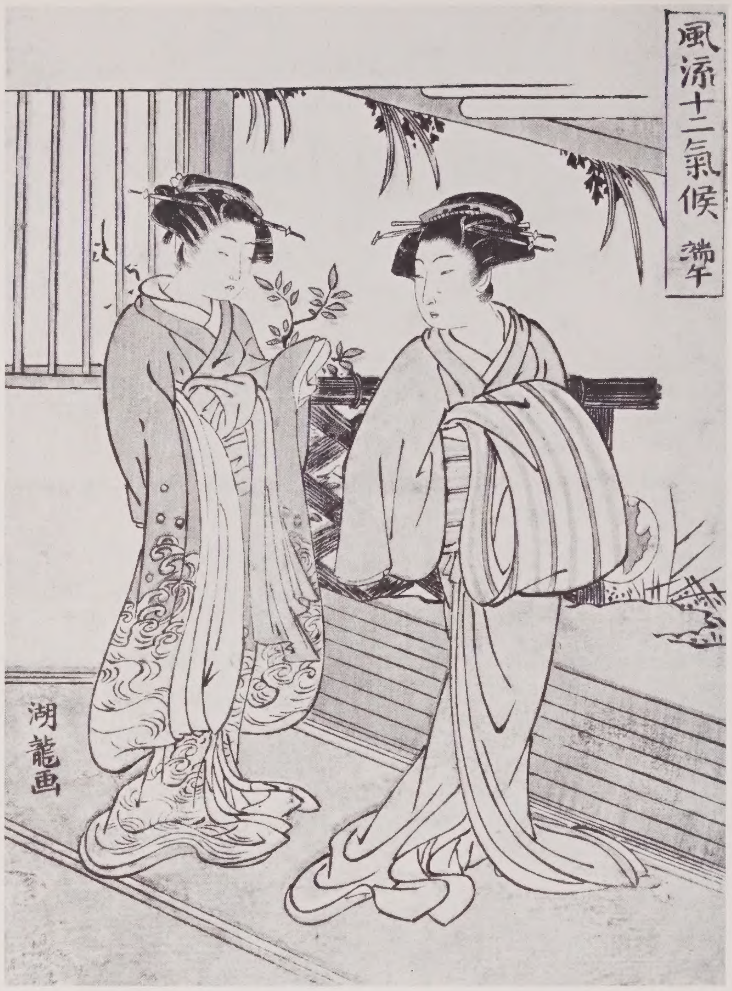


114

115 **Koryūsai.** *Tango,* "Festival of the Fifth Month," from a series *Fūryū jūni kikō,* "The Twelve Months, Fashionably Depicted." Two courtesans stand by an open verandah, under the eaves of which are hung bunches of iris (*shōbu*), in honour of the Tango Festival.

chūban, 21.3 x 15.5; 5(?) colour blocks; repair (BL).
Signature: *Koryū ga.*
Date: later 1770s.

I have not traced any other prints from this set, one of many which Koryūsai did (cf. No. 112). There is a set by Kiyonaga with the same title. The Tango Festival, held on the fifth day of the fifth month, is one of the *go-sekku,* the Five Festivals, and is primarily thought of as the Boys' Festival. It used to be a common custom to fasten bunches of iris to the roof of the house on this day, and irises are still closely associated with it. Irises hung over the roof can be seen on an album print by Shigemasa of the Tango Festival, in the British Museum (Waterhouse, 1964, Pl. 101). A curious note about their use in the Yoshiwara occurs in the *Yoshiwara taizen* (1768): "On the day of the Tango Festival in the fifth month they wear ceremonial attire (*shikise*). On this day children from outside the Enclosure, who are fifteen or under, are not allowed inside the Great Gate. During the Empō period [1673-81], a *kamuro* of a brothel called the Kikyōya, on Edo-chō, 2-*chōme,* gashed herself in attempting to cut iris: and in consequence of this they do not admit children." (Sobu, 1930, p. 164). 926.18.127



115

116 **Koryūsai.** *Echizen-ya uchi Morokoshi,* "Morokoshi from the Echizen-ya." Series: *Hinagata wakana no hatsu moyō,* "New Designs for Fresh Young Things." Morokoshi, watched by her *shinzō,* is dandling a small boy.

ōban, 37.5 x 25.1; 6(?) colour blocks; some fading.

Signature: *Koryūsai ga.*

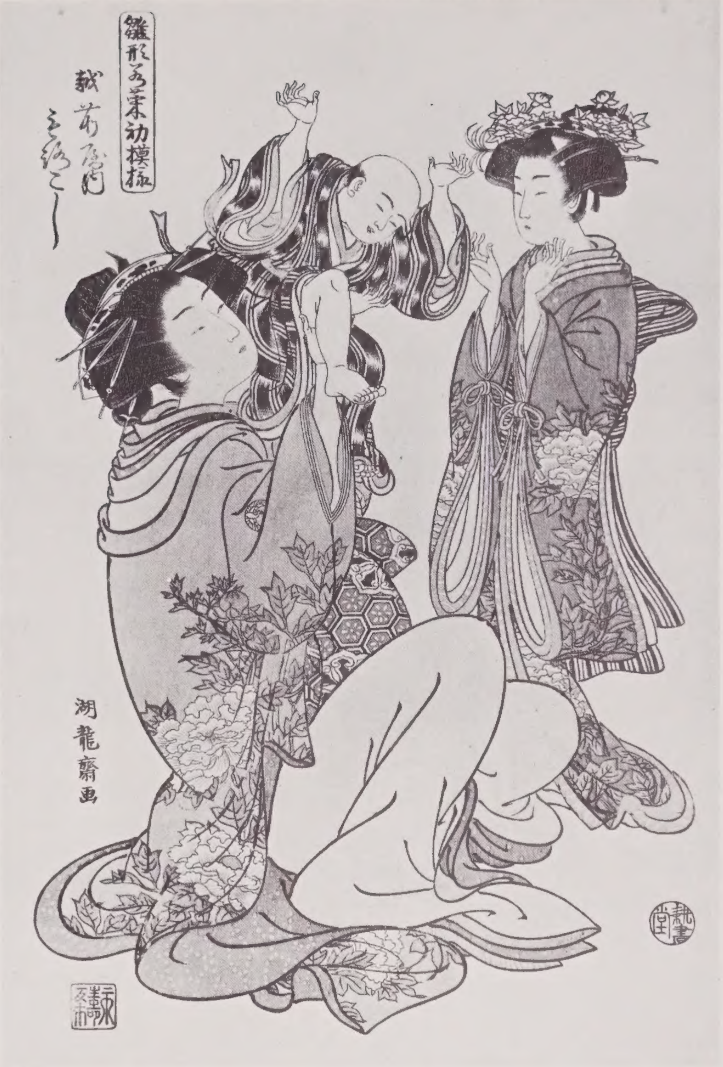
Publisher: seals (BL) *Eiju han* (of Nishimura Yohachi); and (BR) *Kōshōdō* (of Tsutaya Jūsaburō).

Date: Later 1770s.

Other specimens are in the British Museum (1931.5.13.07; ex Sexton coll. – see Sexton, 1922, Pl. 20), and in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.14635). The subject is illustrated by Yoshida (1966-69), No. 14.

Miss Emily Biederman, in collaboration with Dr. Alexander Donagi of Tel Aviv, has noted over 140 designs by Koryūsai for this remarkable and famous series of fashion plates. In a series of articles published since 1966, the late Yoshida Teruji illustrated designs from the set, but by no means approached this total. The Walker collection contains four prints from the series, of which three have been selected for the present catalogue.

According to Sexton (1922), the seal *Kōshōdō* was omitted from later prints of the series. He suggests that the set was published by arrangement between the brothel-house owners and the publishers, in order to advertise the girls. The series was continued by Kiyonaga after about 1780, and the Walker collection also contains one of his designs for it (926.18.290). 926.18.137


雛形若菜初模様
越前屋内
もろこし
湖龍齋画

116

117 **Koryūsai.** *Sumitamaya uchi Hanamurasaki; Yoshiji, Haruji,* "Hanamurasaki from the Sumitamaya, [attended by] Yoshiji and Haruji." Series: *Hinagata wakana no hatsu moyō,* "New Designs for Fresh Young Things."

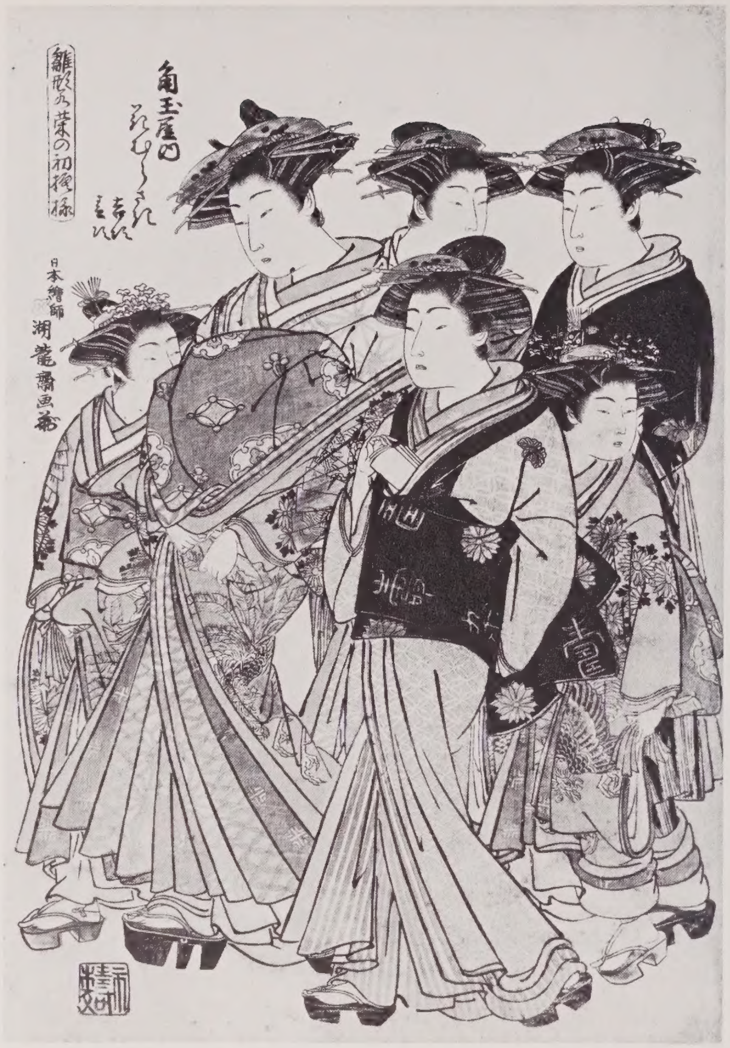
ōban, 37.3 x 25.8; 7 colour blocks, overprinting; collector's seal H.
Signature: *Yamato-eshi Koryūsai ga* + *kakihan.*
Publisher: seal *Eiju han* of Nishimuraya Yohachi.
Date: later 1770s.

Another specimen: MFAB: 21.8224 (Spaulding 5-1). Not listed by Yoshida (1966-69). For the series, see No. 116.
926.18.128

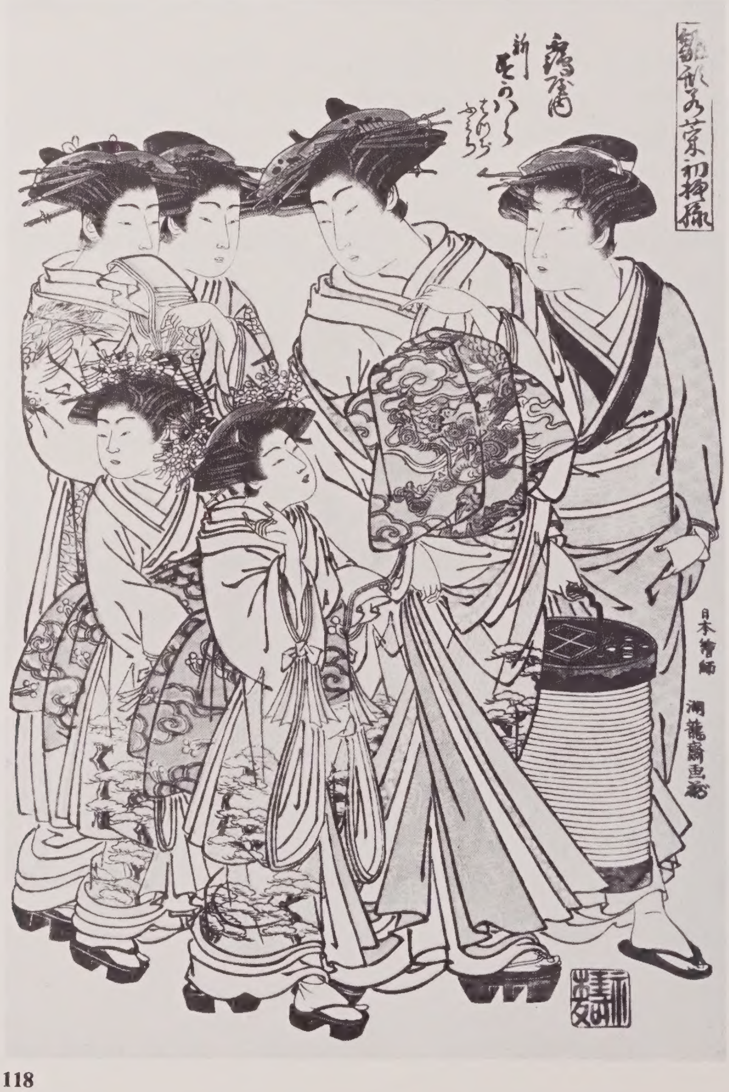
118 **Koryūsai.** *Tsuyuya uchi Shin Sugawara; Hatsuji, Fumichi,* "The New Sugawara, from the Tsuyuya, attended by Hatsuji and Fumichi." Series: *Hinagata wakana no hatsu moyō,* "New Designs for Fresh Young Things."

ōban, 38.3 x 25.7; 6(?) colour blocks, overprinting; somewhat faded, some oxidation; wormage (BL).
Signature: *Yamato-eshi Koryūsai ga* + *kakihan.*
Publisher: seal *Eiju han* of Nishimuraya Yohachi.
Date: later 1770's.

Another specimen: MFAB: 21.8223 (Spaulding 5-1). Not listed by Yoshida (1966-9). For the series, see No. 116.
926.18.132



117



118

Kyosen

119 **Kyosen.** Cat dressed as a monk, looking up at a rat held by an escaping bird of prey. In the chrysanthemum design of the cat's robe are concealed the numbers of the long months (2, 3, 5, 8, 10) for 1765.

chūban, 28.2 x 20.1; 5 colour blocks, *karazuri*; paper a little rubbed and frayed.

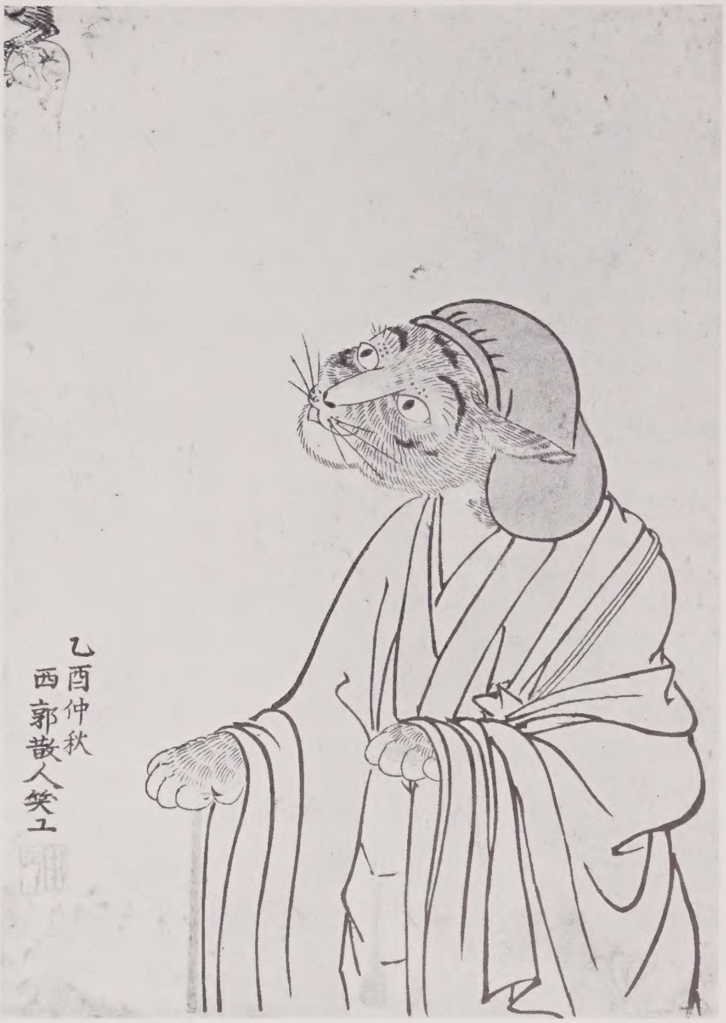
Signature: *Kinoto tori chūshū Seikaku Sanjin shōkō,* "Commissioned for fun by the Dilettante of the Western Enclosure (i.e. the Yoshiwara), in the eighth month, the Bird year, under the sign Kinoto." Seal *Sanjin,* "The Hermit."

Date: 1765.

This print is the only example in the Walker collection of a series of privately published calendar designs which were executed for various groups of connoisseurs in 1765/66, and which paved the way for the full colour print. Their use of superior paper and technique, and of a larger number of colour blocks, marked a great advance; and the decision to issue full colour prints commercially made famous the chief of the artists who worked for the connoisseurs – Suzuki Harunobu. The designs are sometimes amateurish, as is to some extent the case with this print by Kikurensha Kyosen, leader of the *Kyosen renjū,* "the Kyosen Group"; but the best designs were worked over by Harunobu or were completely designed by him. For a detailed discussion of the historical problems associated with these prints, see Waterhouse (1964), pp. 14 – 23.

Kyosen's print is, of course, a *giga,* or "joke picture," in the tradition of the Kamakura handscrolls known as the *Chōjū giga,* which show frogs and other animals as human beings, including Buddhist monks. The cat on Kyosen's print, though disguised as a monk, betrays his nature by the covetous eyes he casts at the bird and at the rat which it has caught. There is another specimen of this print in the British Museum (Waterhouse, 1964, Pl. 93); and one of the Haviland sales (1927), No. 10 and Pl. 1, contained another Kyosen design of a cat in a *kimono,* produced at the same time as this one.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that one of the Chinese artists who visited Japan in the eighteenth century, Fang Chu-ch'uan, wrote his personal name with the same characters as Kyosen: but, since he did not arrive until 1780, we cannot conclude that Kyosen took his own name from this man. 928.18.1207


乙酉仲秋
西郭散人笑工

119

Masayoshi

120 **Masayoshi.** Minamoto no Yoshitsune on a black horse, retrieving his bow from the sea at the Battle of Yashima. Behind him, and also on horseback, his follower Benkei wields a long protective lance.

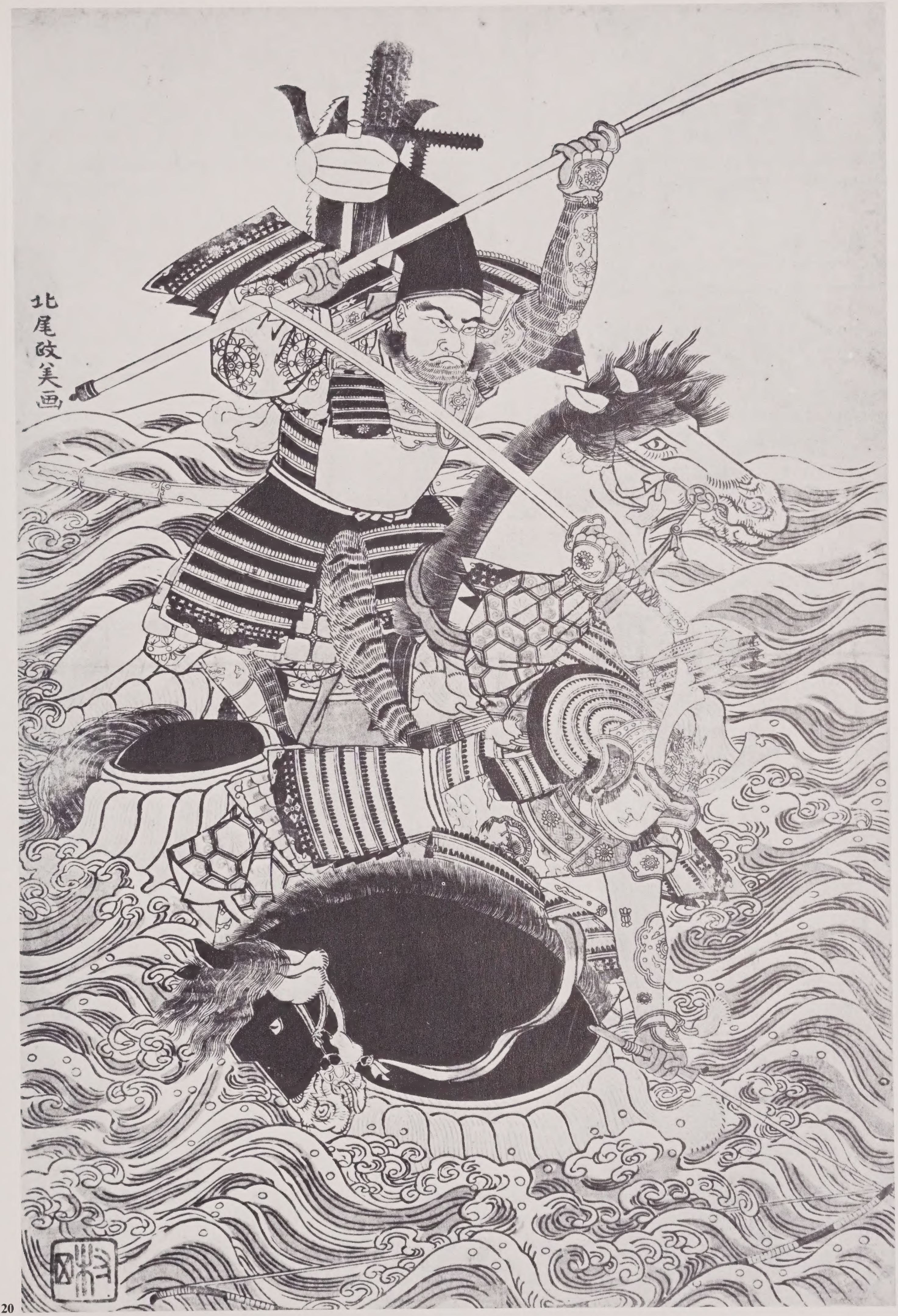
ōban, 38.9 x 26.2; 5(?) colour blocks.
Signature: *Kitao Masayoshi ga.*
Publisher: seal *Murata.*
Date: later 1780s.

Kitao Masayoshi was a versatile and accomplished artist, a pupil of Shigemasa, and later a student of Kanō painting. He was born in Edo in 1761 or 1764, the son of a *tatami* maker, and his early works (chiefly illustrations to *kibyōshi* novelettes) are signed *Kitao Sanjirō.* He took the name Masayoshi in 1781, and, in addition to books, turned out single-sheet prints of warriors, beauties, birds and flowers; also perspective and bird's-eye views. In 1794 he entered the service of Lord Tsuyama as house artist, changed his name to Kuwagata Keisai, and thereafter concentrated on painting and on sketch-like illustrated books. During this period he had opportunity to study and be influenced not only by Kanō painting, but also by Yamato-e and the Heian handscroll tradition, and by Ogata Kōrin. Between 1781 and 1796 he is said to have illustrated over 160 *kibyōshi,* and he continued to produce books until his death.

This vigorous print of Yoshitsune and Benkei, of which I have discovered no other examples, is thus one of Masayoshi's early works; and it seems to belong to a group of *musha-e* (warrior prints) which he did at much the same time. Two others, also on Heike themes, are in the Tokyo National Museum (TKH 2, Pll. 1388, 1389); and the British Museum has a hunting scene diptych by him (1949.11.12.02[1,2]). I owe the identification of the Walker subject to Keiko Keyes. It depicts an episode which may be found in the *Heike monogatari* (Takagi, 1960, II, pp. 319-23) and in other medieval sources; and I quote the story here from the Nō play *Yashima,* by Zeami, as it is told by Yoshitsune's ghost:

I recall the moon of that spring night
Which was as serene as the moon of tonight.
On this same shore the two enemy clans
Fought a deadly battle. Under flying arrows
The warships and the horsemen advanced in ranks.
The warriors, with their horses in water, clashed in confusion.
Suddenly – how I did it? –I dropped my bow
On the waves, which carried it away farther and farther
As the tide was ebbing. I on horseback swam after the bow,
Drawing near the enemy vessels. The enemies, seeing me,
Rowed their boats forwards, and stretching their rakes,
Almost caught me. I, busily cutting off the rakes,
Finally got back my bow. When I returned to the shore,
Kanefusa, my retainer, said to me: "My lord,
What a thoughtless deed that was! No wonder
An enemy general once called you a wild boar.
Your bow may be worth a thousand pieces of gold,
Yet it cannot purchase your life." So he said, tearfully.
I heard him, and answered: "I did that, not because
I held my bow so dear. I have no great ambition in
In battle, yet I like to keep my honorable name.
Had my foes got this little bow, they would have scorned me
And called me a weakling. Had I been killed
In my effort to restore my bow, that was my fate,
I would have thought. Holding my honor dear
I went after the floating bow." Hearing this,
Kanefusa and others, all moved, shed tears.
Wise men have no doubt, brave men have no fear.
A man of valor values his bow as he values his honor.
One who risks his life to save his honor, retains
A noble name in history, praised by writers.
(Translated by M. Ueda, 1962, pp. 24-25)

It will be noticed that there is no mention here of Benkei, but he was in Yoshitsune's service at the time, and his identity is confirmed by the tools which he carries on his back, and which we also see on a pillar-print by Koryūsai of the two men's first encounter on the Gojō Bridge, in the Scheiwe collection (Scheiwe, 1957, No. 47 and Pl.). 926.18.177



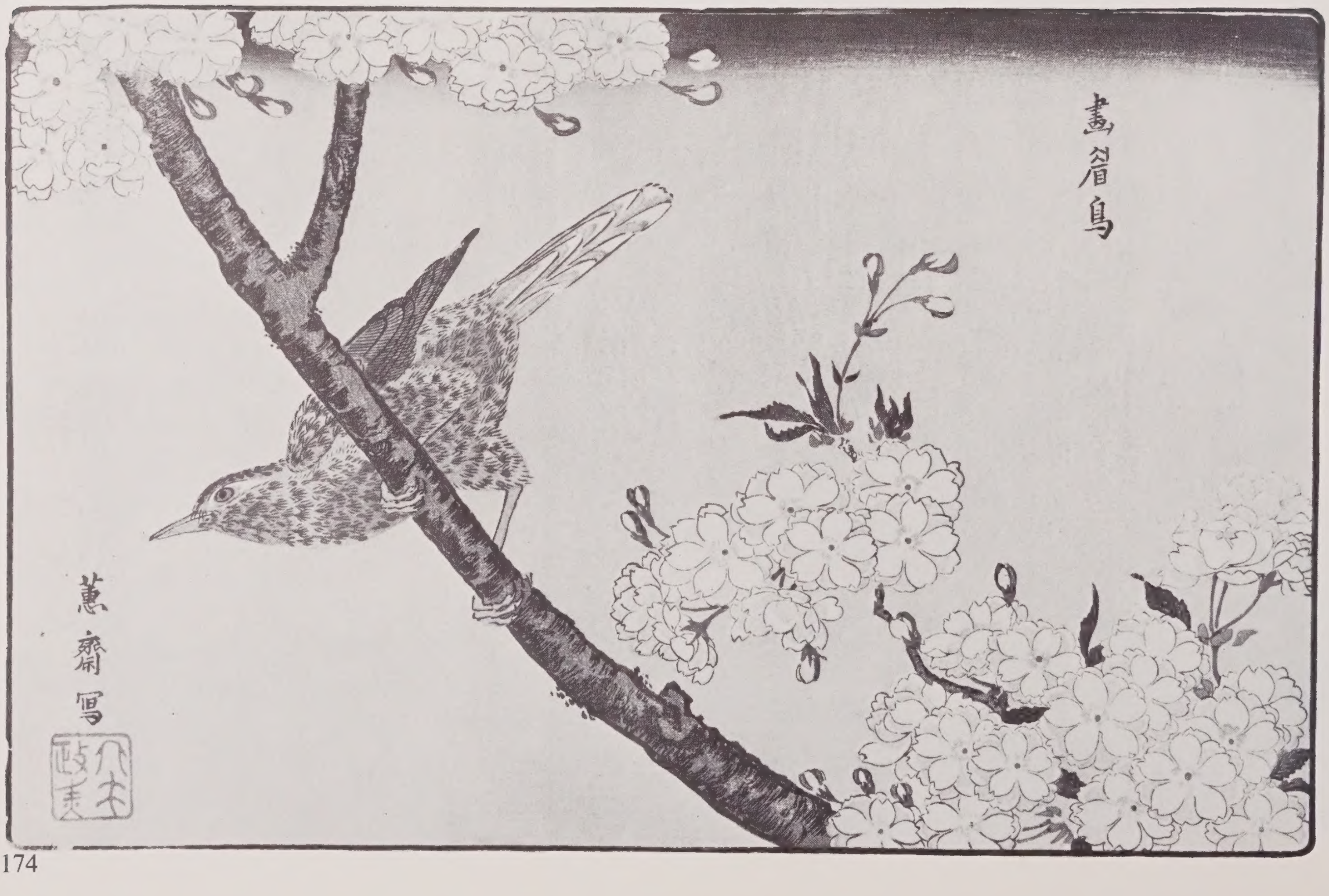
120

121 **Masayoshi.** *Gabi-chō,* "Painted-eyebrow bird," a kind of bunting. It is perched on a branch of flowering cherry.

ōban yokoe, 26.5 x 39.0.
Signature: *Keisai sha,* seal *Kitao Masayoshi.*
Date: some time after 1789.

There is another specimen in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.5789 [Spaulding 5-10]). This print belongs to an album of bird-and-flower designs, *Raikin zui,* done in 1789. It is generally considered that signed individual prints from the album belong to a second, later edition. The Walker collection contains four other prints from the album. 926.18.173

121



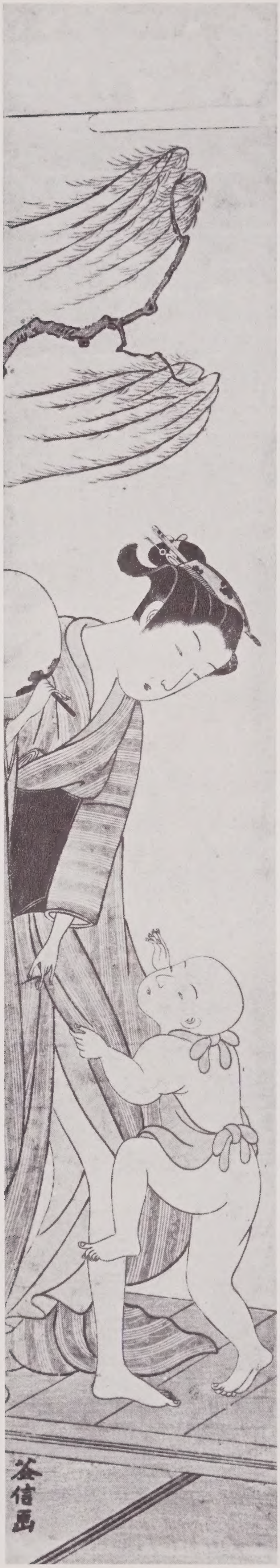
Masunobu

122 **Masunobu.** A mother with her small boy on a windswept verandah.

hashira-e, 68.0 x 12.0; 5(?) colour blocks.
Signature: *Masunobu ga.*
Date: early 1770s.

Masunobu, a minor artist whose life is completely unknown, can be classified stylistically as a follower of Harunobu, and seems to have specialised in pillar-prints. For other pillar-prints by him, cf. UZ 2, Figs. 190, 191; Binyon (1916), B.2, 3; Rumpf (1928), No. 176 and Pl. XXI; MFAB (3 examples); Michener (1959), No. 121.

Both the design of the child and the pose of the mother in the Walker print are borrowed from Harunobu: cf. TKH 1, Pl. 565. For the wind-blown willow tree, cf. Hayashi (1902), No. 341 (by Toyonobu). The Walker print may have been acquired in the Ficke sale: cf. Ficke (1920), No. 106 and Pl. There is another specimen in Chicago: *v.* Gentles (1965), p. 165 and Pl.; and the subject is also illustrated in UT 4, Pl. 17. 926.18.72



122

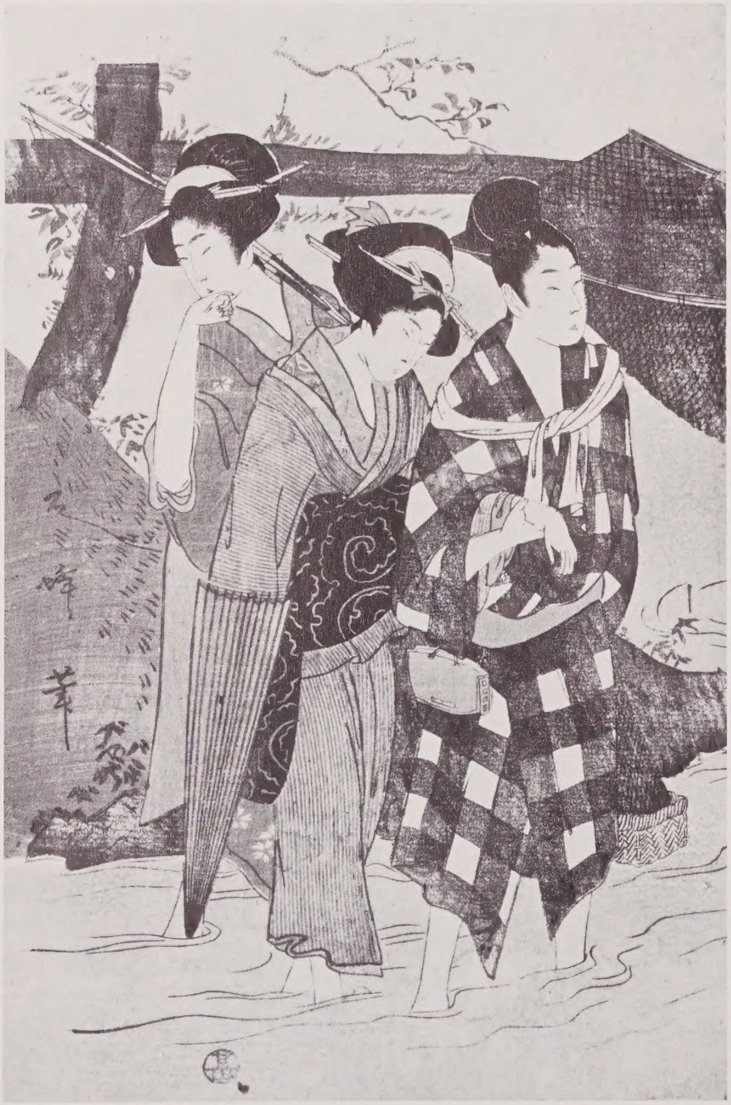
Sekihō

123-4 Sekihō. Fishing party fording a stream. Two men and four girls, equipped with fishing rods and a large hand-net. In the background, two other fishermen.

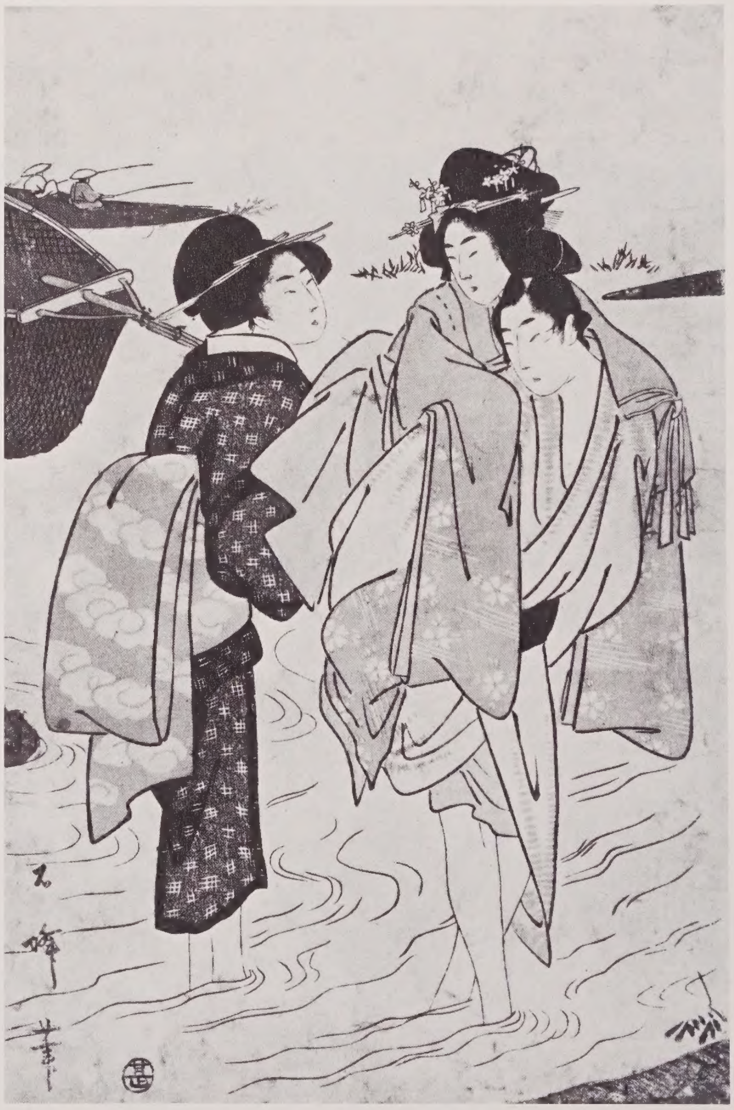
ōban. diptych, 33.7 x 22.0 (R); 35.5 x 22.9 (L).
Signature: *Sekihō hitsu* (on each sheet).
Publisher: seal *Jin* of Maruya Jinpachi (Enjudō).
Date: *c.* 1800.

Nothing is known of the life or training of Sekihō, but his work, which is hardly ever seen, reflects the influence of Utamaro. This delightful pair of prints may originally have been completed by a third: another Sekihō fishing party, an *ōban* triptych (from a different publisher) is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.7529-31 [Spaulding 2-11], or 11.15022-4). The Walker collection contains one leaf of this (926.18.442). 926.18.440,441

123



124



Shigemasa

125 **Shigemasa.** Two lovers.

chūban, 24.7 x 18.0; 5 colour blocks; trimmed (R).
Signature: *Shigemasa ga* (cut off, BR).
Date: *c.* 1770.

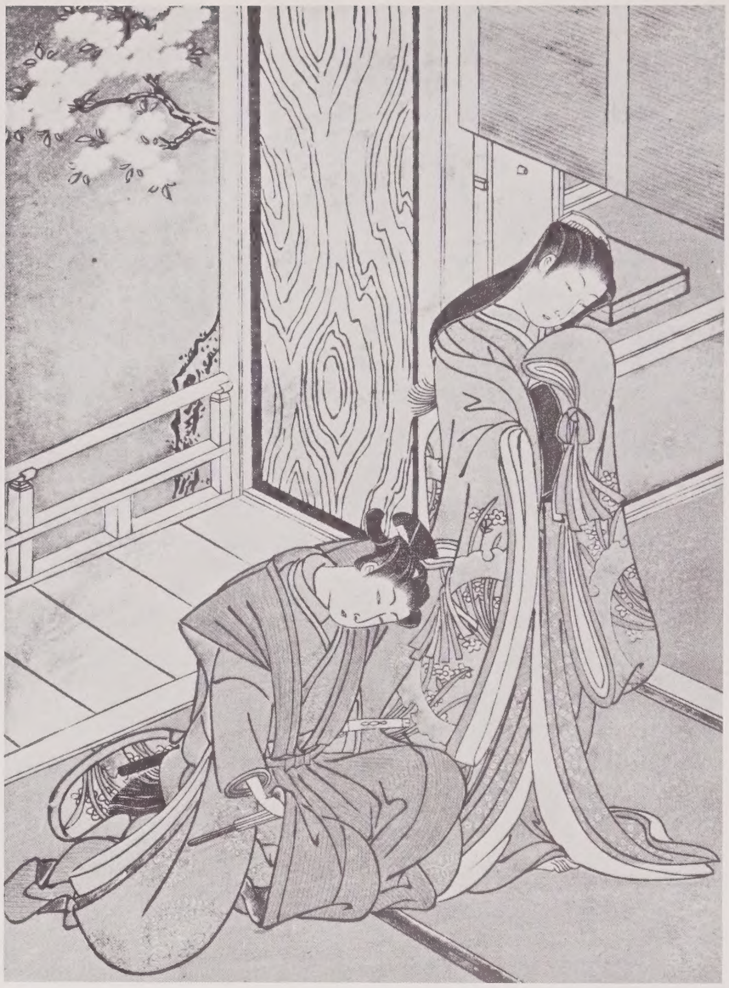
This print exists with two colour schemes. The Walker print and another in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.5851 [Spaulding 5-4]), show green mats in the room. Another, in the British Museum (Binyon, 1916, B.2), has a brownish floor and a less varied colouring, and is probably later. A fourth specimen is illustrated in Kegan Paul (1969), Pl. 15.

Kitao Shigemasa (d. 1819/20, aged eighty-one or more) is a distinguished artist, known by a comparatively small number of prints: but his output has never been studied carefully. He seems to have specialised in prints of courtesans and of children, and also illustrated many books. 926.18.101

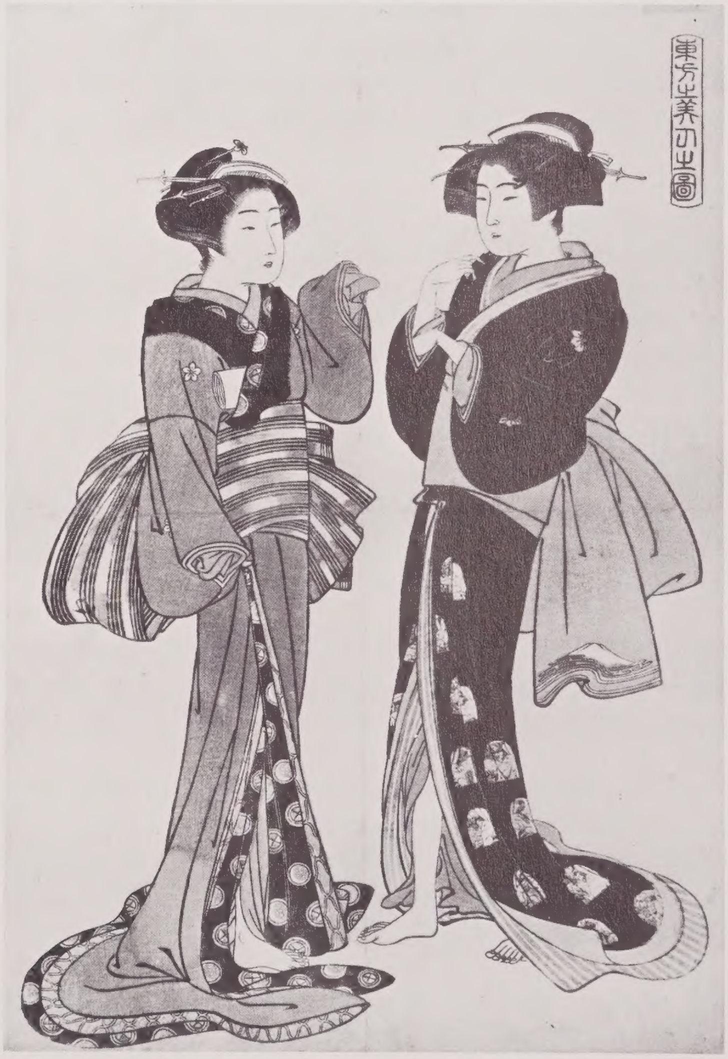
126 **Shigemasa.** Two beauties. Series: *Tōhō bijin no zu,* "Pictures of Eastern Beauties" (i.e. from Edo).

ōban, 37.4 x 25.8; 4 colour blocks.
Unsigned.
Date: *c.* 1775.

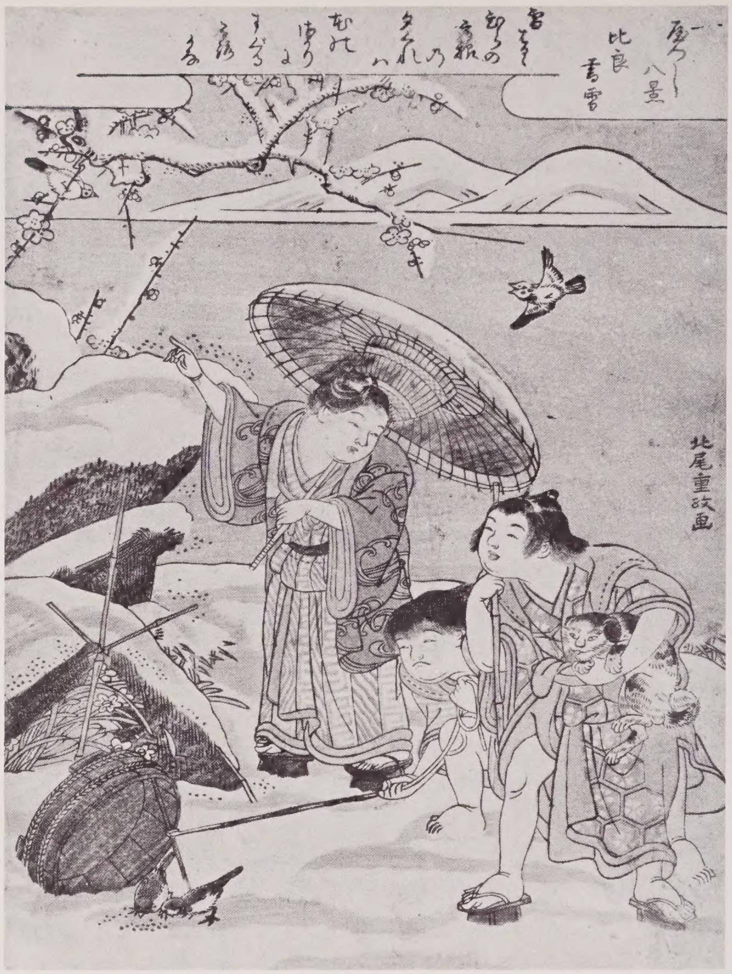
There is another specimen in the British Museum (Binyon, 1916, B.6). Both the British Museum (B.5) and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.5859 [Spaulding 5-4]), possess another of the set, but with differing colours. I have not traced other designs. For another Shigemasa of "Eastern beauties," cf. Ledoux (1948), No. 13 and Pl. 926.18.178



125



126



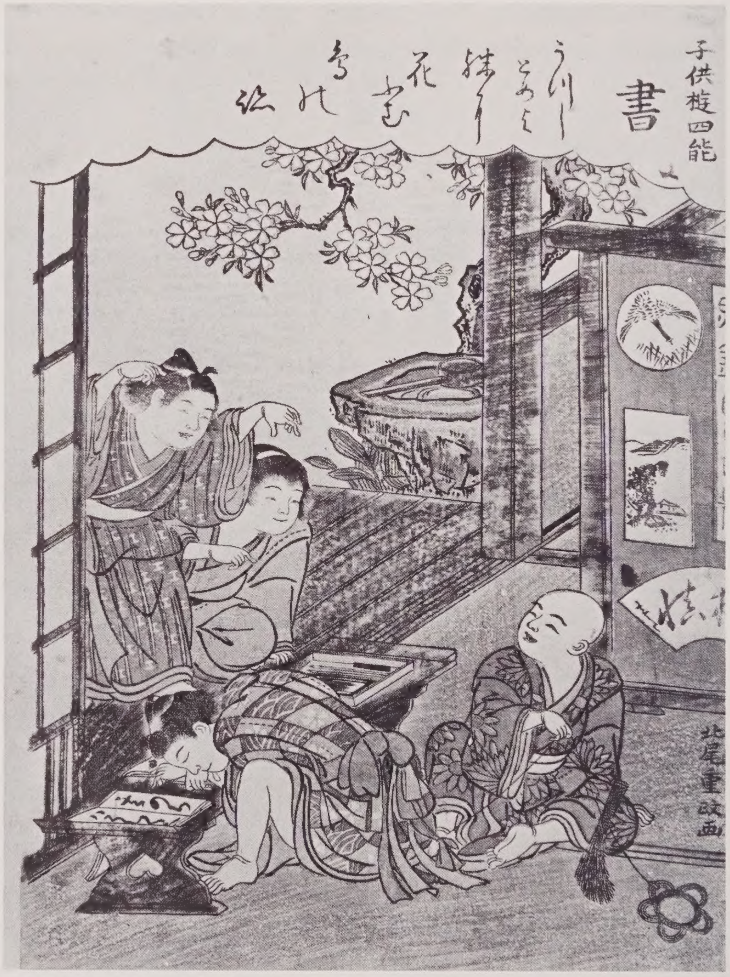
127

127 Shigemasa. *Hira bosetsu,* “Lingering Snow on Mt. Hira,” from a series *Yatsushi hakkei,* “The Eight Views, Facetiously Treated.” Against a background of Lake Biwa, three boys are trying to trap birds. It is late winter on the slopes of Mt. Hira: snow still lies on the ground, but a plum tree is in blossom, and, under a protective tent, early narcissus is in bloom. One boy operates the trap, a second, holding an umbrella, points at a bird on the plum tree, and the third holds a small dog. The poem (T) reads:

yuki haruru	Snow and a clear sky
Hira no takane no	on the high peak of Hira:
yūgure wa	twilight then, in the
moto no hakari ni	opinion of the ancients,
suguru koro kana	is most truly surpassing.

chūban, 25.0 x 18.6; 6 colour blocks; oxidation.
Signature: *Kitao Shigemasa ga.*
Date: middle 1770s.

Another of the set is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (46-51-18); it is *Awazu seiran,* and also depicts boys in a parody of one of the famous *Ōmi hakkei,* “Eight Views in Ōmi Province.” Yoshida (1965-71), Vol. III, p. 374, illustrates *Awazu seiran,* remarking that it is the only design he knows from the series. 926.18.163



128

128 Shigemasa. *Sho,* “Calligraphy,” from a set *Kodomo asobi shinō,* “Children playing at the Four Accomplishments.” A boy who has fallen asleep at his writing practice is having a trick played on him by another, who has tied a straw brush and a flower-shaped bamboo mat to the end of his *obi.* Two other boys are enjoying the fun from the verandah outside. The poem (T) reads:

utsushitome yo	Stop copying those shapes!
koto ni hana fumu	especially since they’re footprints of birds
tori no ato	who tread on the flowers!

chūban, 25.8 x 19.2; 6 colour blocks, overprinting; oxidation.
Signature: *Kitao Shigemasa ga.*
Date: *c.* 1775.

There is a key-block impression of this print in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.30426 [14-36-F]), showing the *kentō* (alignment marks). I have not traced others of the set, which would include *Kin* (music), *Ki* (chess) and *Ga* (painting).

The poem on this print alludes to the legendary invention of Chinese writing under the Yellow Emperor by one Ts’ang Chieh, who observed the marks left by the feet of birds and was inspired by them. 926.18.165

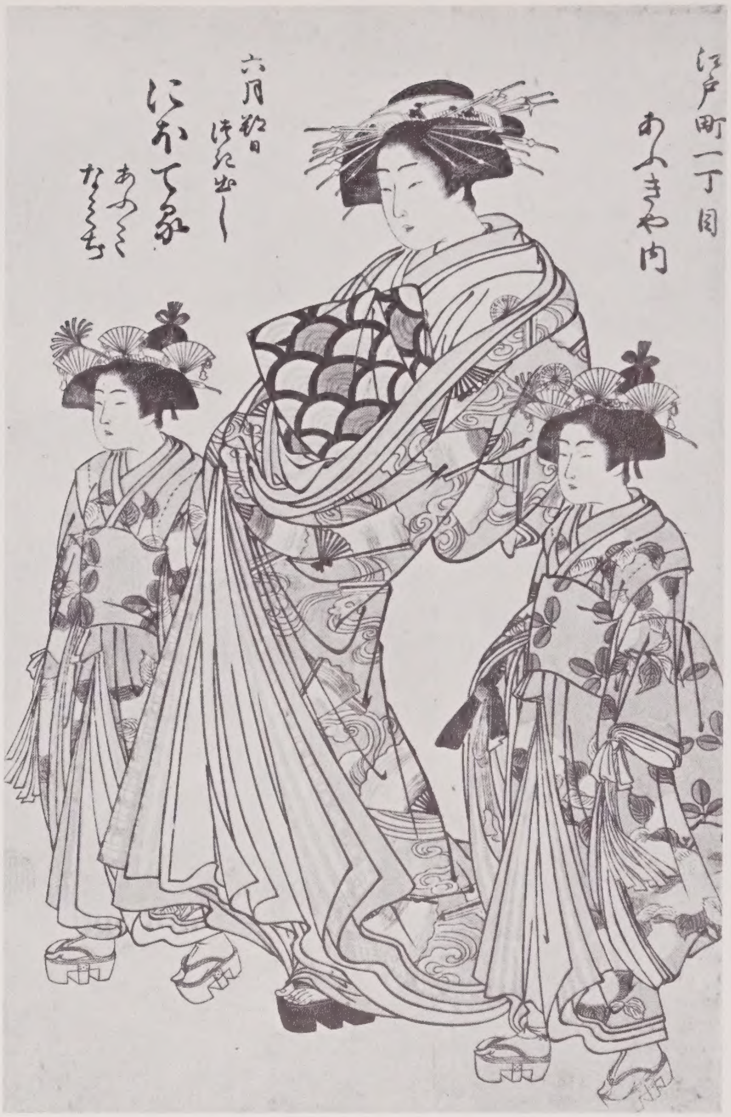
129 **Shigemasa.** *Edo-chō Itchōme, Ōgiya uchi: Rokugatsu tsuitachi, Tsukidashi: Nioteru, Ōmi, Namiji,* "From the Ōgiya, on Itchōme in Edo-chō: First Parade, on the first day of the sixth month, by Nioteru, [attended by] Ōmi and Namiji."

ōban, 37.1 x 24.0; 4(?) colour blocks; somewhat faded.
Signature: seal *Kitao.*
Date: *c.* 1780.

Another specimen of this print was formerly in the Stoclet collection: see Sotheby (1965.5.3), No. 127 and Pl., where it is justly described as "A rare print of the time of Koryūsai's *Hinagata Wakana* series, with which it has much in common." For a portrait of Nioteru from this series, cf. Gentles (1965), p. 261. There is a similar print of girls from the Chōjiya, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.5948 [Spaulding 5-9]).

The Ōgiya was one of the most famous establishments in the Yoshiwara. It was founded by Ōgiya Uemon under the name Gomeirō, "The Five Bright Rooms," and in the 1780s was particularly associated with the great courtesan Hanaōgi. *Tsukidashi* was the name for the first showing of a newly graduated courtesan, when she would parade in her finery down Naka-no-chō, the main street of the Yoshiwara, attended by her maids (Ōmagari, 1955, Vol. I, p. 63; Vol. II, p. 144).

Ōgi means "fan," and the name Gomeirō was undoubtedly selected for the Ōgiya because of the *Wu ming* (J. *Gomei*), a fan supposed to have been made by the legendary Chinese Emperor Shun (DKJ, s.v.).
926.18.168


江戸町一丁目
あふきや内
六月朔日
つき出し
にほてる
あふみ
なみぢ

129

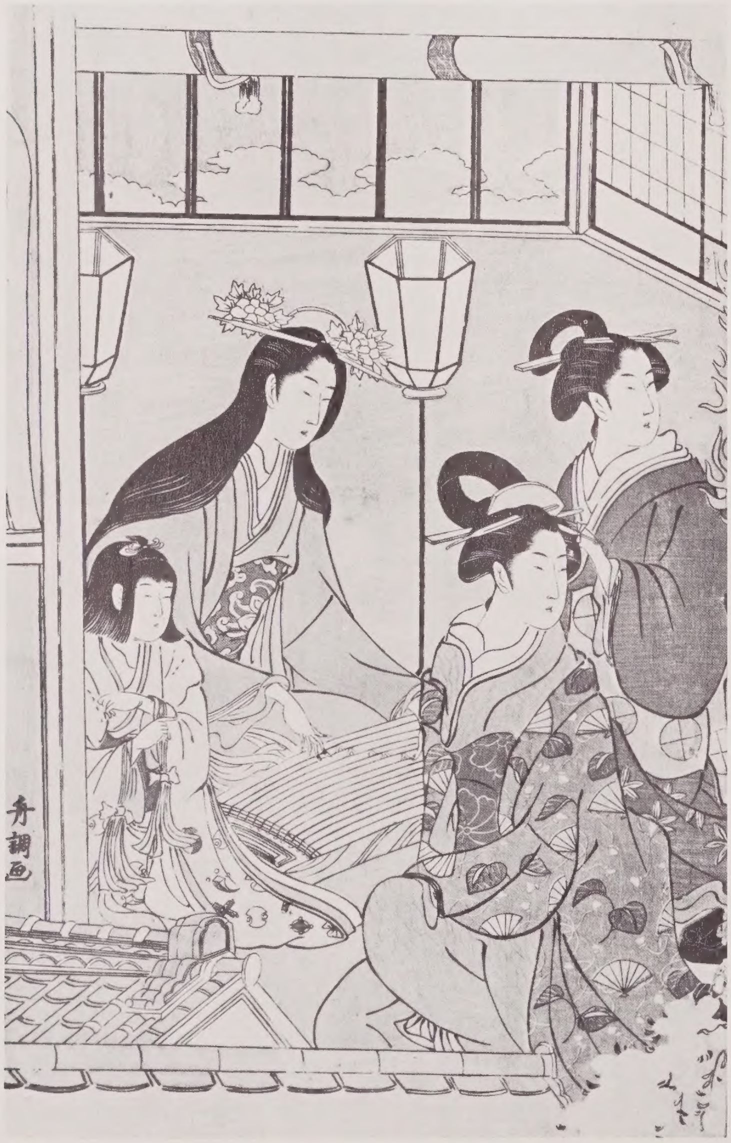
Shūchō

130-1 Shūcho. Party of upper-class ladies making music, in a parody of the scene of Ushiwaka serenading Lady Jōruri (cf. No. 146).

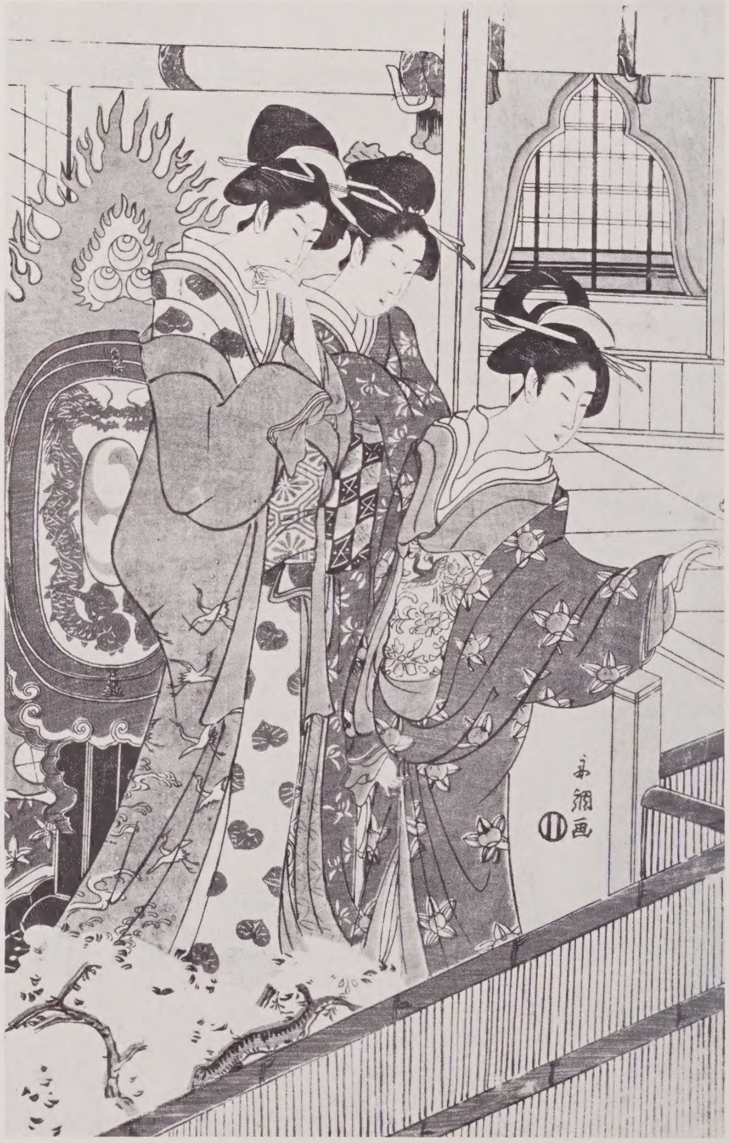
ōban diptych, 37.0 x 47.8 (overall).
Signature: *Shūchō ga* (on both sheets).
Publisher: trademark of Ezakiya Kichibei (on both sheets).
Date: 1780s.

Tamagawa Shūchō was once thought to have been a pupil of Utamaro, but was actually a student of Bunchō. His works are fairly uncommon, but there are examples in such public collections as the British Museum and the Tōkyō National Musem. He also illustrated *kibyōshi* novelettes. The Walker prints are probably the left and centre sheets of a triptych: the missing sheet would show that the ladies are listening to a young man with a flute who is standing on the other side of the fence.
926.18.1099

130



131



Shun-ei

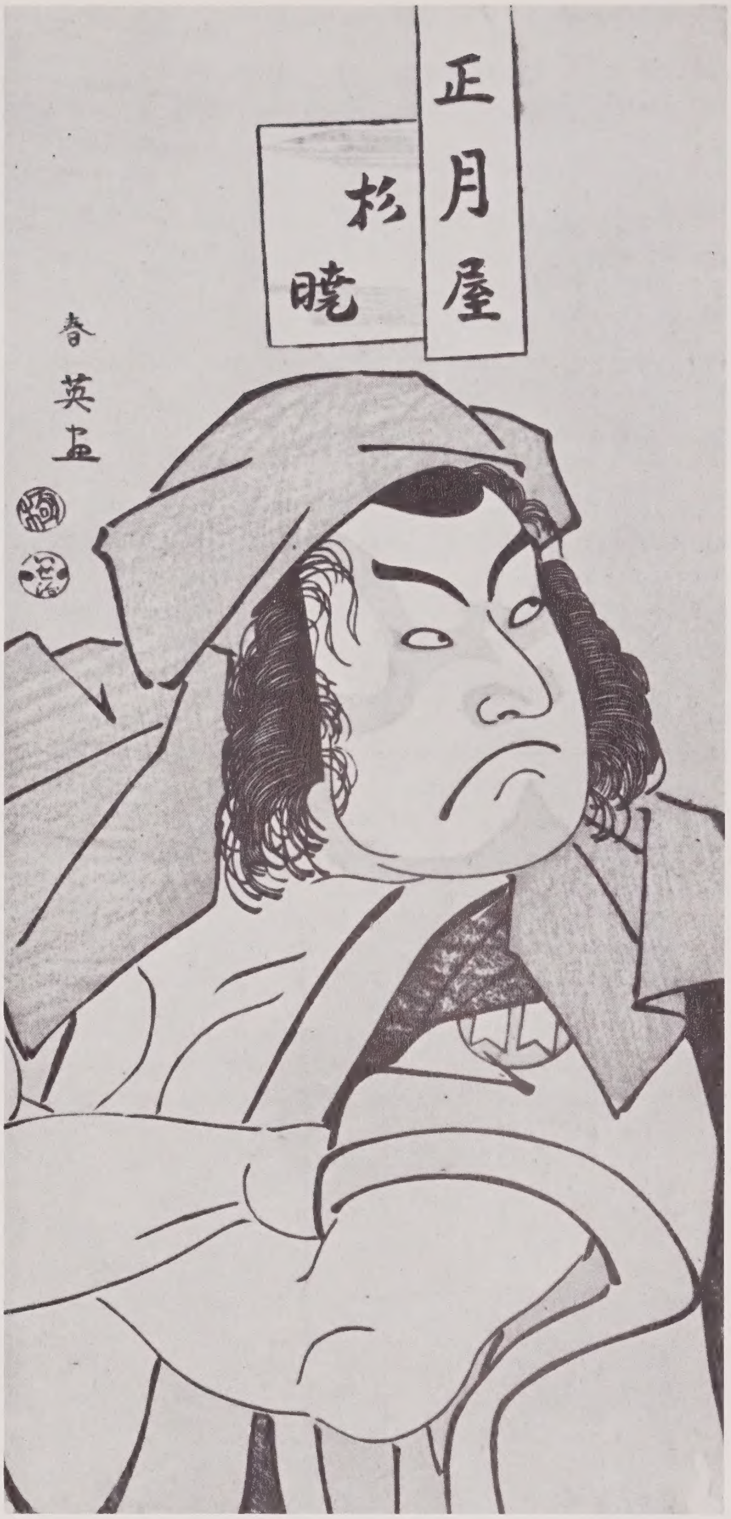
132 **Shun-ei.** The actor Sakata Hangorō III. One of a series of actor portraits, each with the *haigō* (poetic name) of the actor and a fanciful title associating him with some kind of tradesman. Thus Hangorō's *haigō* is *Shungyō;* and the title is *Shōgatsuya,* an itinerant seller of *zōni* (rice-cakes boiled with vegetables and often eaten at New Year).

hosoe, 30.6 x 14.8; 5(?) colour blocks; censorship seal *kiwame;* wormage (B).
Signature: *Shun-ei ga.*
Publisher: trademark *Ise-Ji* of Iseya Jisuke.
Date: early 1790s.

Subject illustrated: UT 8, Pl. 235. Another specimen and three others of set in Honolulu Academy of Arts (information R. Keyes); for others of set, cf. also Binyon (1916), B.30; Kawaura (1919), Pl. 270; UT 8, Pl. 236.

Sakata Hangorō III (1756-95) acceded to his title in 1783 (second month), and specialised in strong-man rôles, such as Asahina Saburō. One of the Honolulu prints shows Monnosuke II, who died in 1794; and the censor's seal – first seen *c.* 1791 (see Ishii, 1932, p. 3b) – fixes the earliest date for these prints. For another Shun-ei of Hangorō, cf. UT 8, Pl. 212; and for one by Hokusai, cf. No. 93 in this catalogue.

Katsukawa Shun-ei (1762-1819) is perhaps the most distinguished pupil of Shunshō, and his strong style is often compared to that of Sharaku. He influenced Toyokuni, and himself had important pupils in Shuntei and Shunsen. He is also said to have been an expert *shamisen* player. 926.18.323

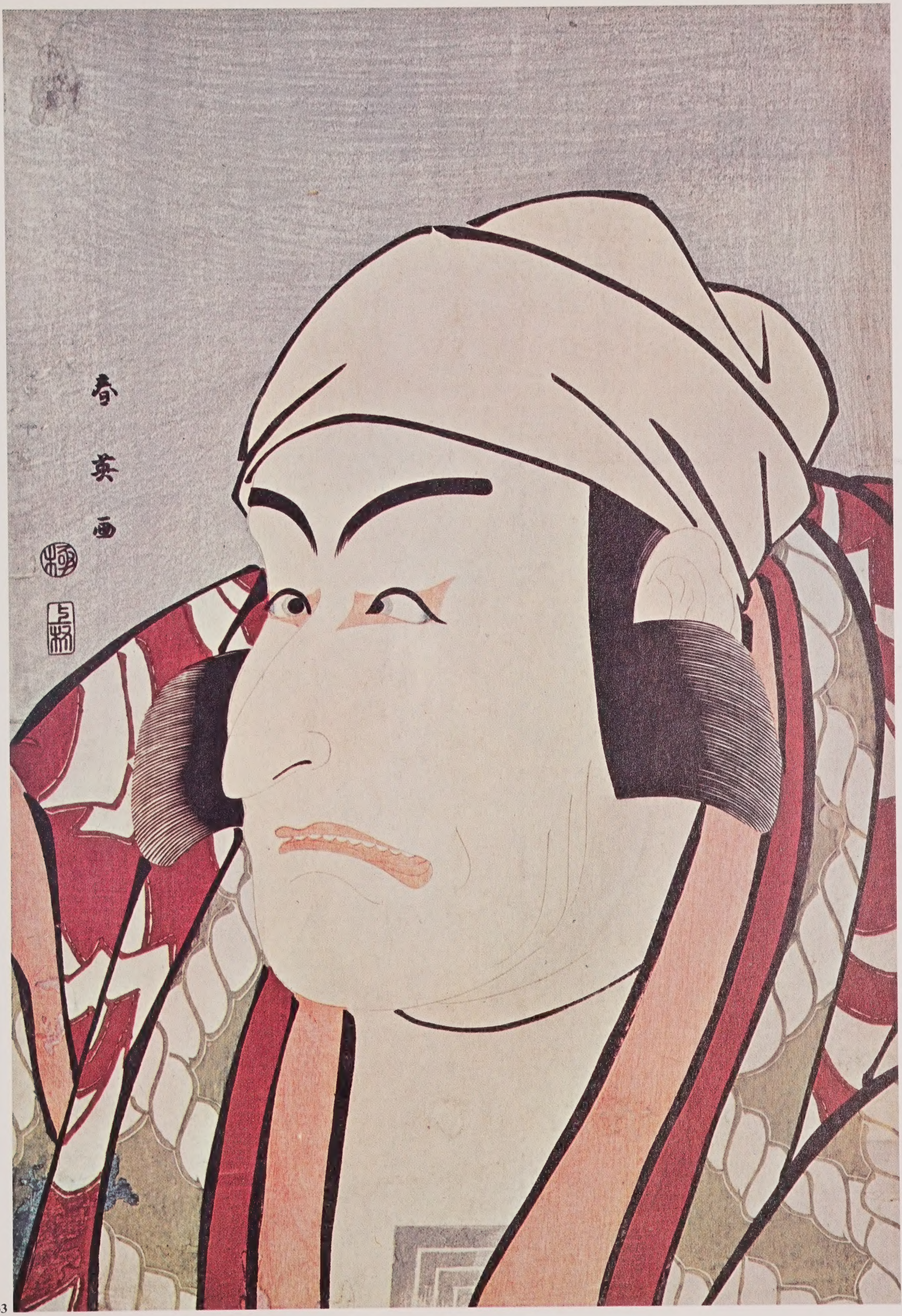


132

133 **Shun-ei.** Bust portrait of Ichikawa Danjūrō V.

ōban, 37.4 x 25.2; censorship seal *kiwame*; bad wormage (L).
Signature: *Shun-ei ga.*
Publisher: seal *Uemura* (of Emiya Kichiemon).
Date: 1796.

Another bust portrait by Shun-ei, in similar style and from the same publisher, is described by Ledoux from his own collection (1950), No. 36. Ledoux identifies the play as *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami,* at the Ichimura-za, seventh month, 1796 (KN 5, p. 216). In this play Danjūrō took the part of Kurikara Tarō, and it seems reasonable to associate the Walker print with this play and rôle. Ledoux describes his print (of Bandō Hikosaburō III) as "one of the finest designs of its type by any artist of the Katsukawa School and certainly . . . the most distinguished Shunyei that he has had the pleasure of finding."   926.18.295



133

134 **Shun-ei.** The *sumō* wrestler *Kashiwado Sōgorō.*

ōban, 37.8 x 25.0.
censorship seals *kiwame* and *ni* (2nd month).
Signature: *Shun-ei ga.*
Publisher: trademark and seal *Eiju han* of Nishimura Eijudō.
Date: 1805-10.

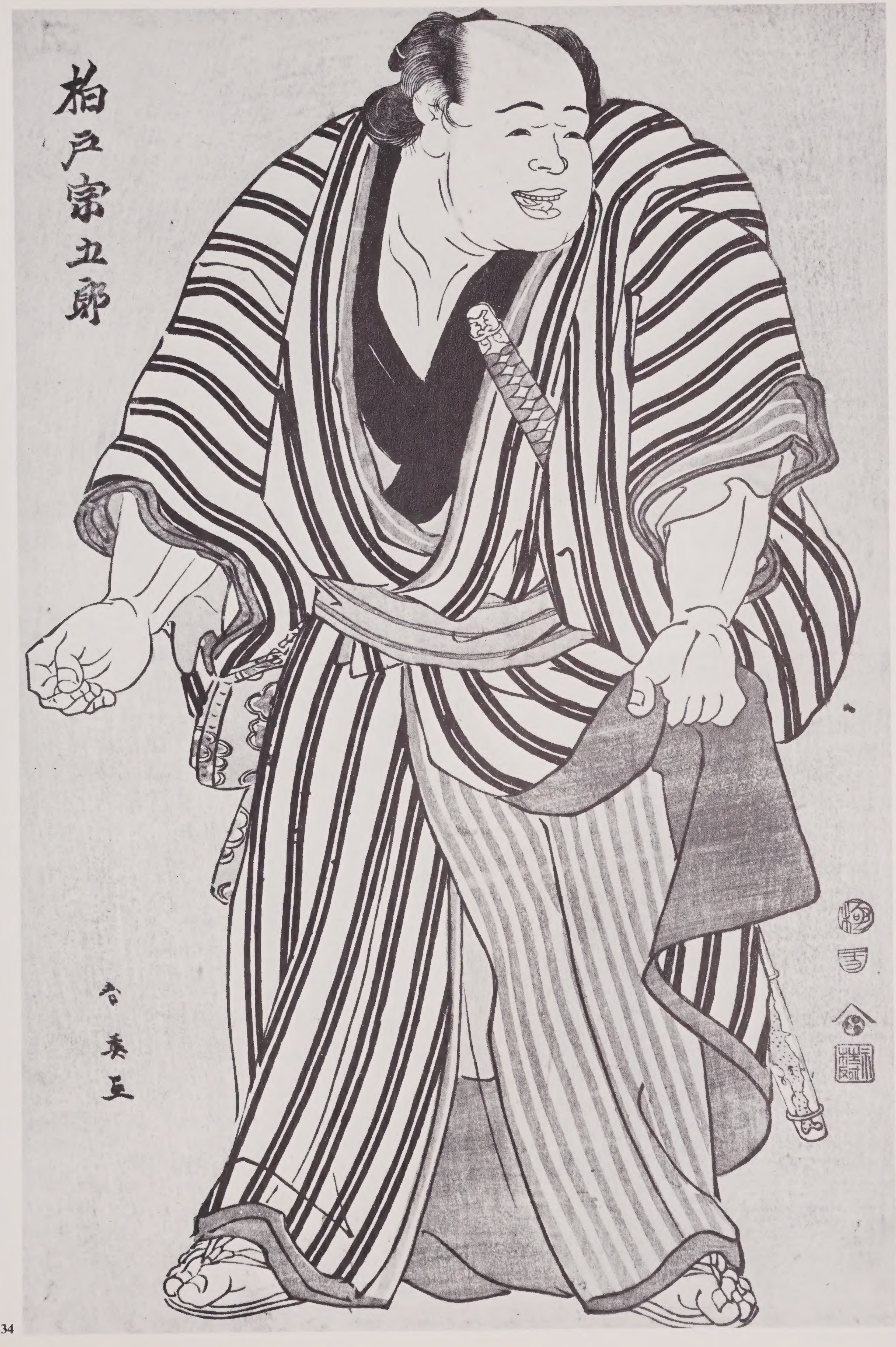
Shun-ei is well known for his prints of wrestlers, a genre in which the Katsukawa school seems to have been preeminent. The Walker print, of which I have found no other specimens, seems to be the left-hand sheet of a diptych: the pair to it, of which there are examples in Boston (MFAB: 21.5968 [Spaulding 2-2]) and Tōkyō (TKH 1, Pl. 1248), has identical seals, and shows the wrestler Kagamiiwa Hamanosuke. The *kiwame* censorship seal was used on prints from 1791 onwards, and at various periods other seals were added or substituted. The form found here is rare, but indicates a date somewhere between 1805 and 1810.

The wrestler shown on this print, Kashiwado Sōgorō, was famous not only because of his wrestling, but also because of his involvement in the so-called "Kashiwado lawsuit." "Subscription wrestling" (*kanjin sumō*) was held for the first time in 1624, and one of the most active promoters of it is said to have been Godayū, also known as Isenoumi I. For this performance a large drum (*taiko*) was used, which was supposed to be identical to one later handed down in the Isenoumi family and regularly borrowed for the major competitions (*ōzumō*) twice a year.

Sekinoto Okuuemon, to whom in the 1750s the title Isenoumi II had passed, died in 1783; and another follower of the Godayū line, Kashiwado Murauemon, became Isenoumi III. However, Murauemon did not live long, and his title passed in turn to Kashiwado Sōgorō, who thus became Isenoumi IV. But the widow of Okuuemon, a redoubtable lady named Kano, contested this, saying that the title should go to Arakuma Mineuemon, a pupil of her late husband; and she took the matter to the authorities. The *sumō* elders (*sumō toshiyori*) mostly favoured the widow of Murauemon, and gave judgment accordingly in 1797.

Widow Kano, however, was not to be beaten. She picked a quarrel with Kashiwado Sōgorō over the Isenoumi drum, and appealed to the Bakufu for a settlement. As a result of the dispute over the Isenoumi name, the *sumō* authorities had ceased to borrow the family drum, and had made alternative provisions for their own drum. Widow Kano contended that they should now reinstitute the old custom, and matters were resolved only when Sōgorō agreed to renounce his title as Isenoumi, together with the properties involved, to a neutral mediator; and the *sumō* authorities thereafter used both their own guild drum and the Isenoumi drum, for which they paid a rent known as the Clear Sky Donation.

Years later, the Isenoumi school split into two branches, one following Okuuemon, the other Murauemon and Sōgorō. By now, widow Kano was old, and a second mediator was able to gain back Sōgorō his title; and, following her death, the Okuuemon line died out, and the Isenoumi drum passed to Kashiwado Sōgorō and his family, from whom the custom of borrowing it lasted until Meiji (Furukawa, 1968, pp. 176-78). 926.18.296



134

Shunshō

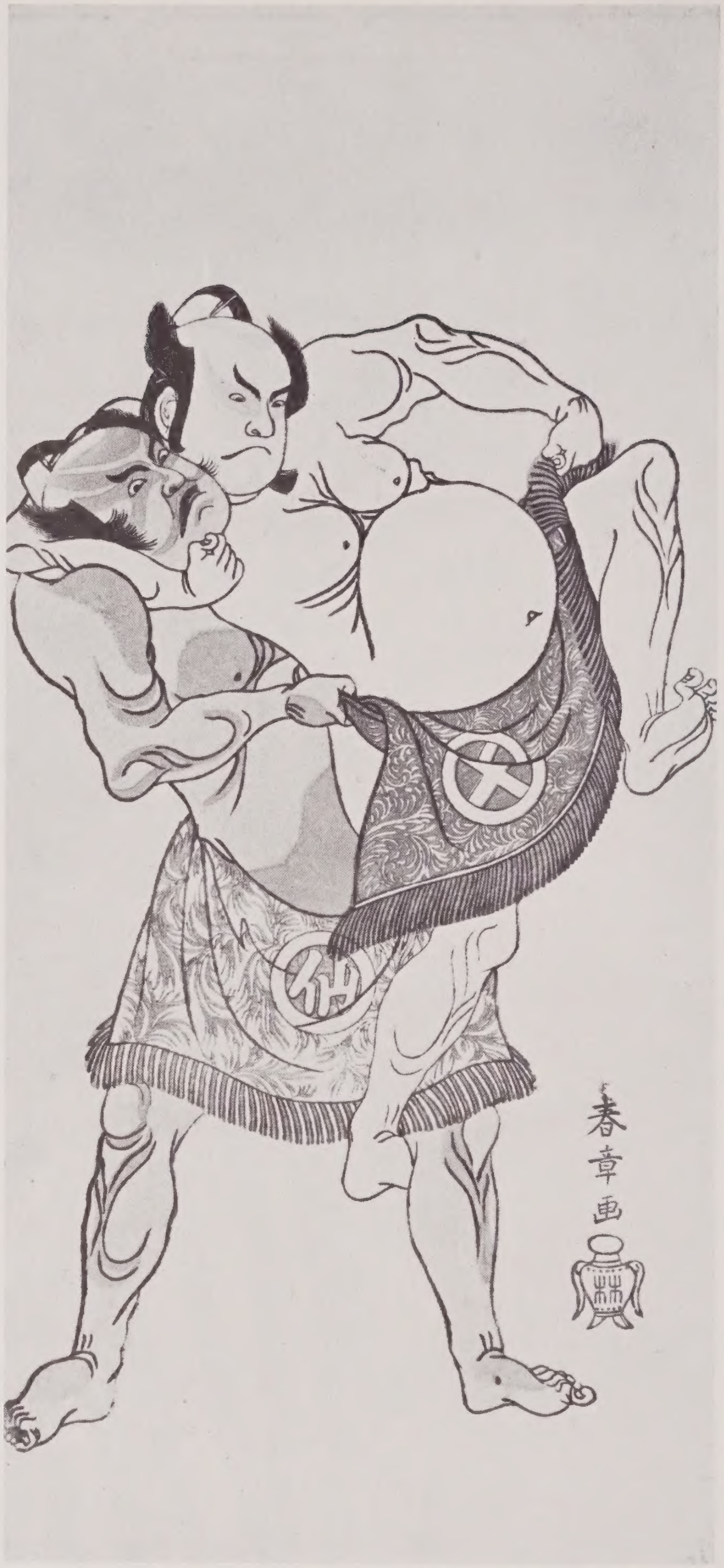
135 **Shunshō.** Nakamura Sukegorō II and Ōtani Hiroji III in a *sumō* scene. Each is wearing a wrestler's apron with his stage *mon.*

hosoe, 31.4 x 14.3; 5 colour blocks.
Signature: *Shunshō ga,* jar seal *Hayashi.*
Date: 1770.

Nakamura Sukegorō II (1745-1806), the son of Sukegorō I, succeeded to his father's title in the eleventh month, 1763, at a performance at the Morita-za (KN 3, p. 518-19). On this occasion he took one of the rôles for which his father had become famous, the villain Matano Gorō, in a *sumō* wrestling match against the hero Kawazu Saburō played by Ōtani Hiroji III (1746-1802). The scene was a great success, and the two actors repeated it, in other plays, in 1765 (KN 3, p. 565-68) and in 1770 (KN 3, pp. 147 f.; KND, p. 325), on both occasions at the Ichimura-za.

Shunshō's print follows closely one by Kiyonobu II, of Sukegorō I and Hiroji II in a performance of 1752 (Shuzui and Akiba, 1944, Pl. 418); and a comparable print by Kiyomitsu is illustrated in UTS 6, CPl. 33. (It may be noted that Sukegorō I and Hiroji II had first performed the scene together in 1749.) It is most likely that the Walker print illustrates the performance of 1770, a play called *Myōto-giku Izu no kisewata.* The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has a print of Sukegorō II alone in his rôle from this play, again by Shunshō (11.18588 [14-38-A]: cf. also Gookin, 1931, Pl. C.B.A.I. 67). Boston also has another pair of Shunshō actor-wrestlers, grappling in a similar pose, and dated to a performance in 1774 (11.18618 [14-39-A]).

Katsukawa Shunshō (d. 1793) was the major artist of actor prints from before 1770 until his death, but also did other subjects, including many book illustrations, and was a distinguished painter. His prints – and there are hundreds of them – are never less than professional, and some of them are masterpieces. He had many pupils, the most important of whom are Shun-ei (See Nos. 132-34) and Shunkō. His work has been partially studied by Gookin (1931) and others. 926.18.209



135

136 **Shunshō.** Shōki the Demon-Queller.

hashira-e, 68.6 x 16.6; uncoloured; air-burning; horizontal fold-marks.

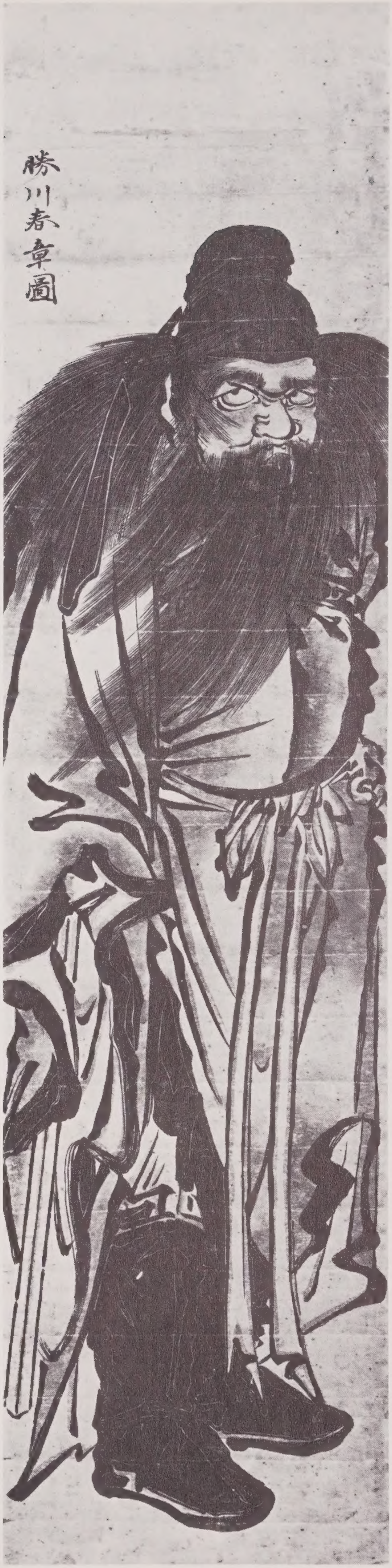
Signature: *Katsukawa Shunshō zu.*

Date: c. 1770.

This print is not recorded by Gookin (1931), but the style of the signature provides an approximate dating. Shunshō designed at least three other pillar-prints of Shōki in the course of his long career: cf. Binyon (1916), B.78 (or Gookin, 1931, Pl. 82); MFAB: 21.4312 (Spaulding 11-7); and MFAB: 11.21267.

Prints of Shōki must have been extraordinarily popular during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Englebert Kaempfer remarked on seeing them during his visit between 1690 and 1692: "Others fancy they thrive extreamly well, and live happy, under the protection of a countryman of *Jeso* [that is to say, an Ainu], whose monstrous frightful picture they paste upon their doors, being hairy all over his body, and carrying a large sword with both hands, which they believe he makes use of to keep off, and as it were to parry all sorts of distempers and misfortunes, endeavouring to get into the house" (Kaempfer, 1727, Vol. II, p. 418). There are examples of Shōki pillar-prints by all the major eighteenth-century *ukiyoe* artists.

Shōki, though of Chinese origin, may almost be regarded as an Edo period folk deity. He is supposed to have appeared in a dream to the T'ang Emperor Hsüan-tsung (r. 846-59), promising to rid the Empire of demons and diseases; and was first portrayed by the great Wu Tao-tzŭ. The first Japanese depiction of him is in the *Jigoku sōshi* ("Scroll of Hells") (early Kamakura period). There are depictions of him in ink-painting of the Muromachi period, by Sesshū, Shōkei and Yamada Dōan, among others; and this tradition no doubt accounts for the *suiboku* style in which he is invariably shown by *ukiyoe* artists. It is, or was, the custom to display his portrait at the time of the Boys' Festival (*Tango no sekku*: cf. No. 115) in the fifth month: see, for example, a print of this festival by Shigemasa in the British Museum (Waterhouse, 1964, Pl. 101), which is of much the same date as the Walker Shunshō. The Walker collection also contains a wide *hashira-e* of Shōki by Okumura Masanobu. 926.18.220



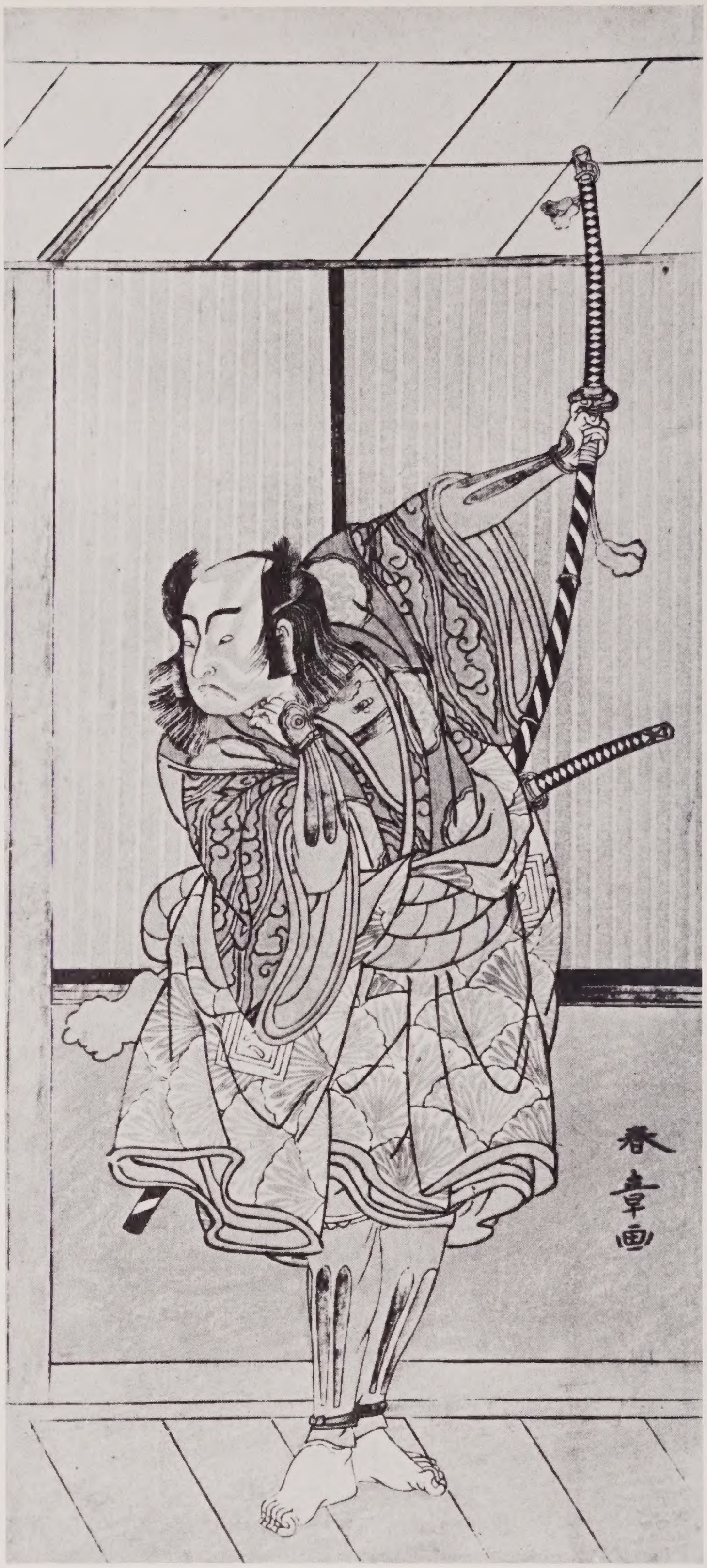
136

137 **Shunshō.** Ichikawa Yaozō II in character, holding a long sword by the sheath.

hosoe, 32.9 x 14.7; 5 colour blocks; slight oxidation.
Signature: *Shunshō ga.*
Date: 1771.

This print is the right-hand leaf of a triptych: impressions of the other two leaves are in the Tōkyō National Museum (TKH 1, Nos. 894, 895), and have identical backgrounds and forms of the Signature. Boston has the two outer leaves (MFAB: 21.7112-3 (Spaulding 5-13)).

The missing leaves show Yamashita Kinsaku II (C) and Ichikawa Komazō II (L). Kinsaku (1733-99) was a Kansai *onnagata* who visited Edo in 1752 and again in 1769 (eleventh month). On the second occasion he remained permanently in Edo, and during 1770 appeared at the Morita-za. In the ninth month of that year, however, he gave a farewell performance (KN 4, p. 143), and transferred to the Nakamura-za. During 1771 he appeared at the Nakamura-za at least four times, but by the eleventh month he was back at the Morita-za, and continued to perform there subsequently. Two of his co-stars at the Nakamura-za in 1771 were Ichikawa Yaozō II (1735-77) and Ichikawa Komazō II (1737-1802) who became Matsumoto Kōshirō IV in 1772). Shunshō's print therefore belongs to the first nine months of 1771, which was the only period when the three actors appeared together; but without further evidence it is hard to be certain of the exact play depicted. (For the possibilities, cf. KN 4, pp. 162 f., 174-75.) 926.18.207

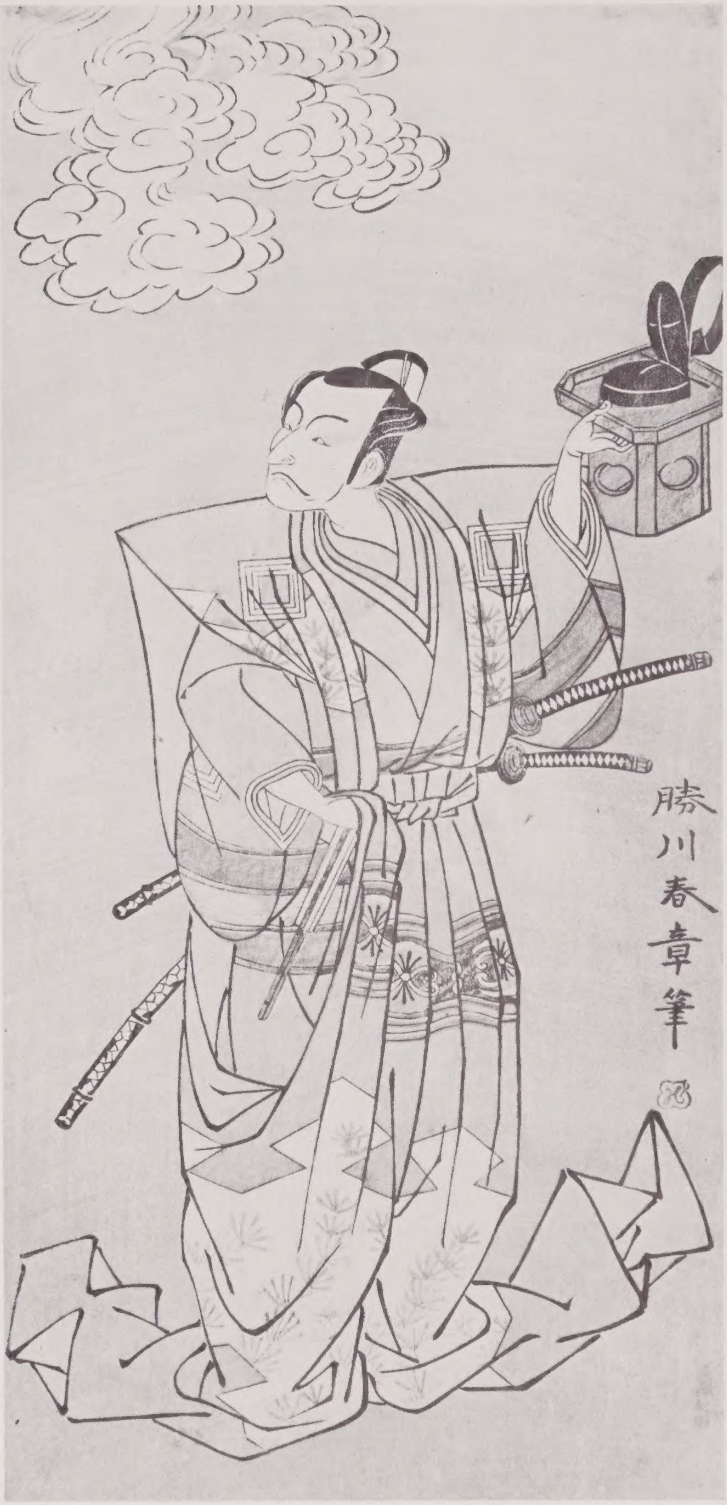


137

138 **Shunshō.** Ichikawa Danjūrō v, perhaps as Soga Jūrō. He wears formal *kamishimo* and two swords, and stands holding up a tray with a black court hat (*kammuri*) on it. Clouds swirl in the sky overhead.

hosoe, 30.1 x 14.4; 6 colour blocks; collector's seal "H".
Signature: *Katsukawa Shunshō hitsu.*
Date: early 1770s.

There is another specimen in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (54.477 [14-37-C]). A closely related design by Shunshō, depicting Matsumoto Kōshirō IV as a samurai, is illustrated in K. Inoue (1927), Pl. 57. Of much the same date as the Walker print, it also shows swirling clouds, together with a dragon, in the sky above. 926.18.213



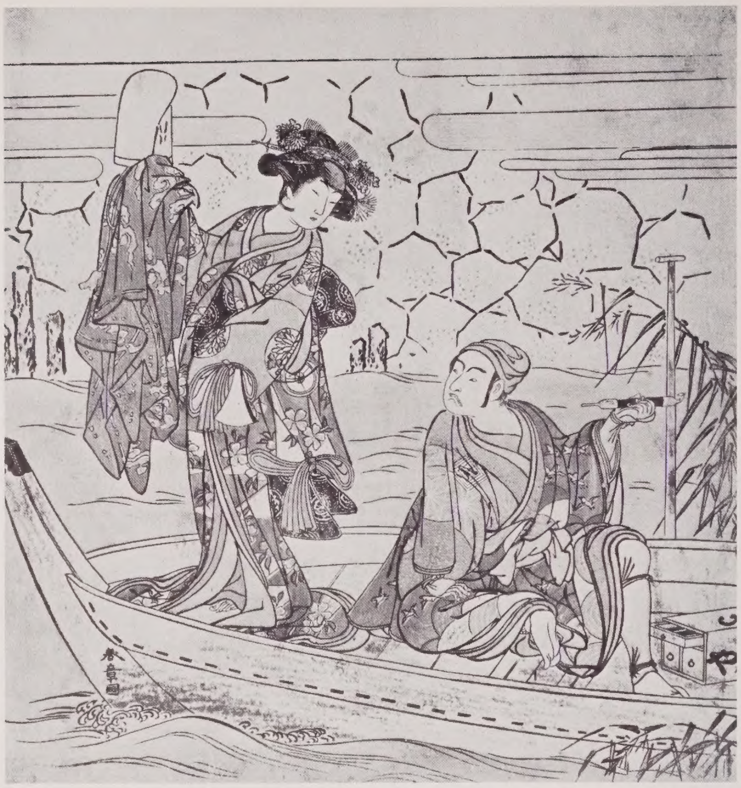
138

139 **Shunshō.** Ichikawa Yaozō II and Iwai Hanshirō IV in character. Yaozō is seated in a boat, holding a tobacco pipe; Hanshirō, in a female rôle, is standing, and holds up the robe and *ebōshi* (ceremonial hat) of a *shirabyōshi* dancer.

double *hosoe,* 31.8 x 29.3; 7(?) colour blocks; some oxidation.
Signature: *Shunshō zu.*
Date: 1775.

Subject illustrated: UT 5, Pl. 169. The play is *Oya fune Taiheiki* (KN 4, pp. 268 f.; KND, p. 352-53), performed from the first day, eleventh month, 1775, at the Ichimura-za. Yaozō played the boatman Jirōsaku (in reality Sagami Jirō), and Hanshirō played the dancing girl Sakuragi (in reality the younger sister of Bigō Saburō), and in the second act of the play they performed a *seridashi* dance together. They also appeared in a posturing scene (*mie*) with Nakamura Noshio and Matsumoto Kōshirō, and one may speculate that Shunshō designed a print of those two actors also.

Ichikawa Yaozō II (1735-77) was the son-in-law of Yaozō I, and was first a *gidayū* chanter in the puppet theatre, but became a Kabuki actor under the name Nakamura Denzō. He took the name Yaozō II in the winter of 1762, when he became a pupil of Ichikawa Danjūrō IV. Iwai Hanshirō IV (1747-1800) made his first appearance in 1753, and became a *musumegata* four years later, under the name Matsumoto Shichizō. In the eleventh month, 1765, he was adopted into the Iwai family, and became Hanshirō IV; and he went on to become one of the most famous female impersonators of the day, ranked equal to Segawa Kikunojō III. From late 1775 to late 1776 he appeared with Yaozō at least four times at the Ichimura-za. 926.18.231



139

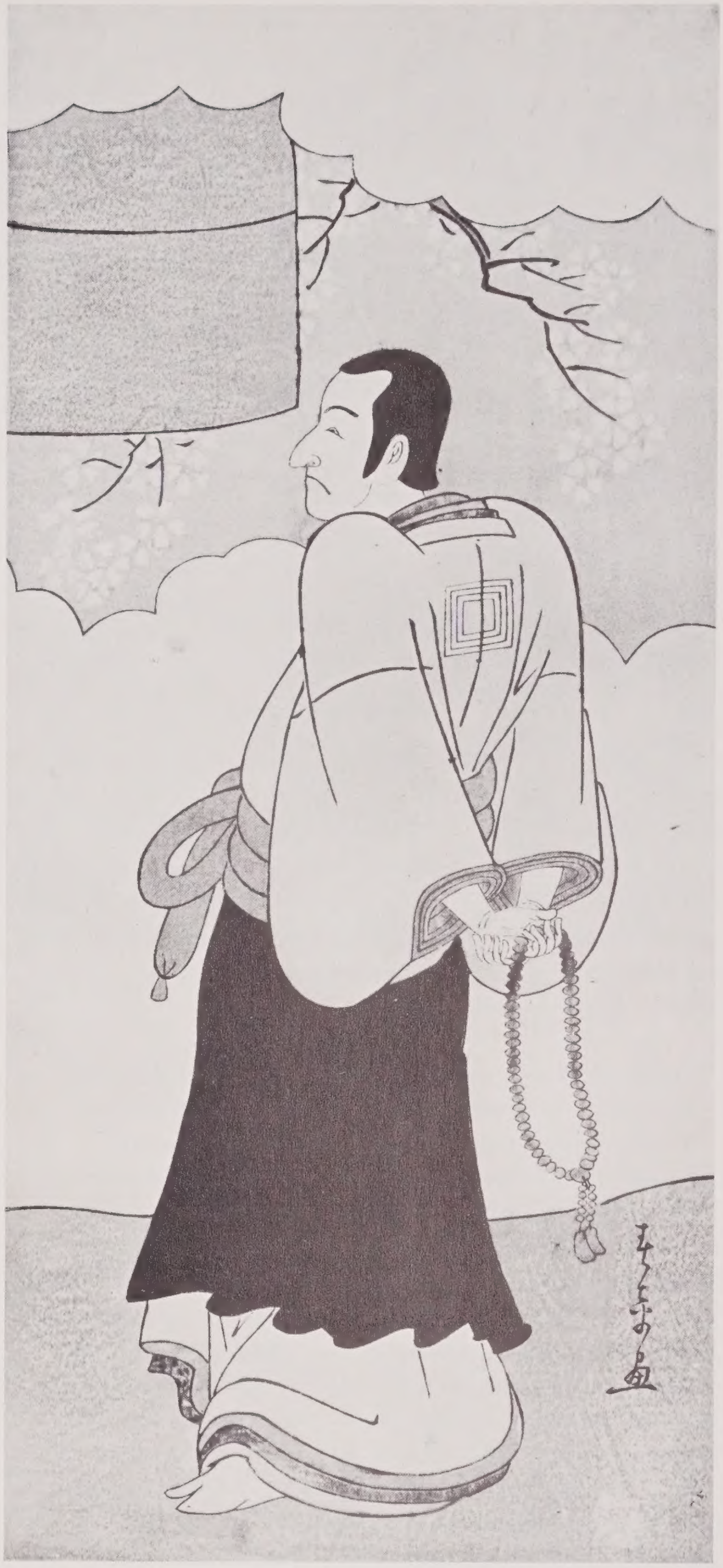
140 **Shunshō.** Ichikawa Danjūrō V as a monk, gazing at the bell of Dōjōji, and clutching a rosary behind his back.

hosoe, 32.7 x 14.9; 5 colour blocks; slight oxidation.
Signature: *Shunshō ga.*
Date: 1780.

Another specimen: Ficke (1920), No. 151 and Pl. Subject illustrated: Gookin (1931), Pl. 216; Michener (1954), Pl. 46.

Gookin illustrates the complete triptych of which this is the right-hand leaf. The centre leaf shows Bandō Mitsugorō I as Musume Dōjōji, and the outer two leaves show Ichikawa Monnosuke II and Danjūrō V as two monks, in a *shosa* (posturing dance) called *Hikeya hike kane-hiki Dōjōji.* Gookin, who provides this information, remarks (p. 187): "Some of Shunshō's finest prints were designed in 1780"; and he comments further, "Mitsugorō's impersonation of the Musume as a *shirabyōshi* was a notable success. His costume, however, did not lend itself to artistic portrayal. Consequently few impressions of the middle section of the triptych have been preserved. The writer has seen only one besides that included in the unsevered triptych here illustrated: but the figures of the monks are well known to print collectors and are justly prized as works of art. The *shosa* was danced at the Nakamura theatre from April 7, 1780, until the 'Spring' play 'Hatsu-monbi Kuruwa Soga', of which it was an important feature, was taken from the boards after a long run. From the time of the first Segawa Kikunojō (1691-1749), who achieved great fame in it, the Musume Dōjōji rôle has been extremely popular and has been frequently performed. A curious circumstance connected with its performance in the eighteenth century is that each time it was staged, it was customary to rename the musume and the monks" (pp. 189-90). (Cf. Shuzui and Akiba, 1944, Pl. 464; KN 4, pp. 380 f. Gookin's source for his statements was probably the scarce publication *Shibai nishikie shūsei,* Pll. 153, 196.)

Ficke writes about the print of Danjūrō: "The blue of the sky, the touches of orange at the neck and sleeves, and the simplicity of the black and grey color-masses, are all elements contributing to the masterly effect. Finest of all is the drawing of the bent shoulders and meditative, swaying attitude; few other figures of Shunshō's have quite this intensity of life." The reader must judge whether Gookin and Ficke's high praise is justified, or whether it partly reflects period taste. 926.18.228



140

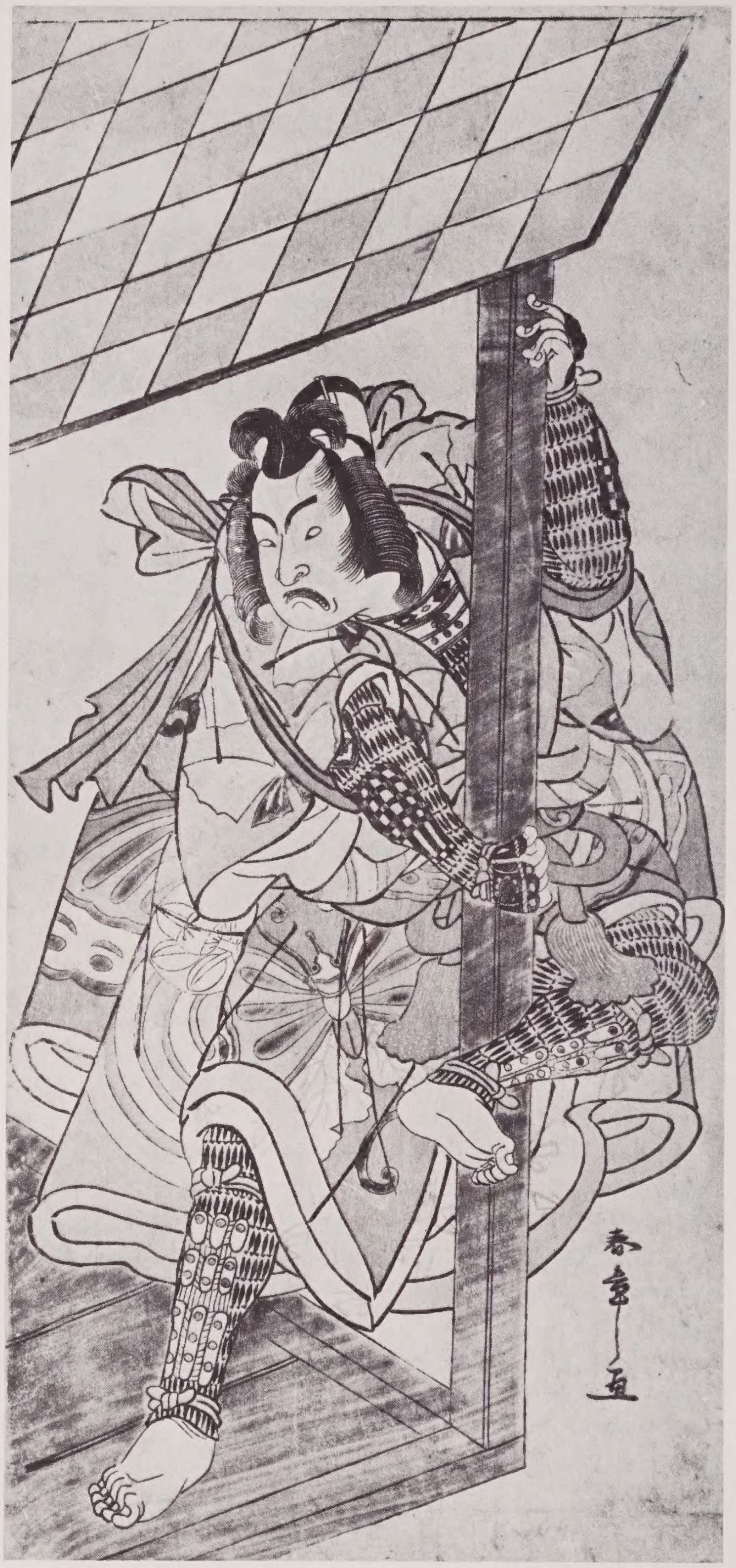
141 **Shunshō.** Ichimura Uzaemon IV as Soga Gorō.

hosoe, 32.2 x 15.1; 5 colour blocks; some oxidation.
Signature: *Shunshō ga.*
Date: *c.* 1780.

The rôle depicted here was made famous by Ichikawa Danjūrō II, who first played it in 1729 at the Ichimura-za (KN 2, p. 134), and thereby added a new and spectacular scene, *Yanone Gorō,* to the cycle of plays about the Soga Brothers. Word reaches Soga Gorō while he is at home sharpening arrows, that his brother Jūrō is in trouble at a banquet being given for Wada Yoshimori. Gesticulating in the best *aragoto* style, he prepares to go to the rescue. Danjūrō's performances in *Yanone Gorō* stimulated the production of souvenirs of many kinds, and the theatre owner, Ichimura Uzaemon III, built a costume storehouse at Ryōgoku Yagenbori, which he called the Yanone-gura. After a successful revival of the play in 1754, when it ran for over 100 days, Danjūrō II rebuilt this store at his own expense. (It was subsequently re-named the Chūshingura, after a big performace of *Chūshingura* in 1780: see KN 4, p. 402.)

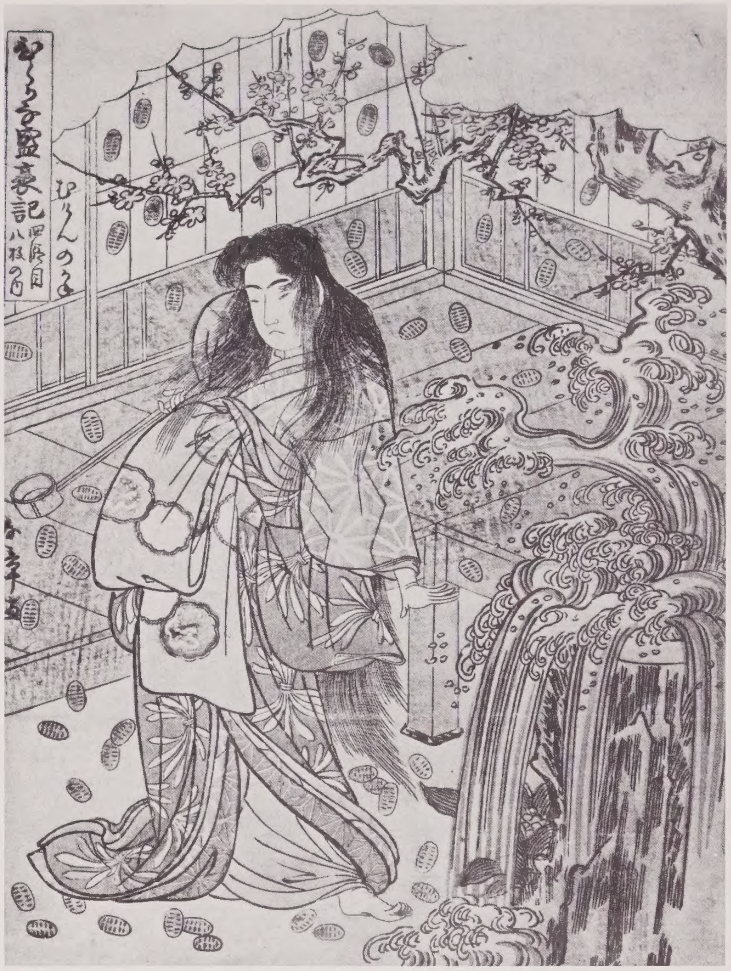
Yanone Gorō became a specialty of the Ichikawa family: but the son of Ichimura Uzaemon III himself played Yanone Gorō on at least two occasions. Ichimura Uzaemon IV (1725-85), seventh proprietor of the Ichimura-za, was a distinguished actor. He made his debut in 1731, and in 1745 took the name Ichimura Kamezō. In 1759, the third month, he performed Yanone Gorō at the Ichimura-za (KN 3, p. 376), and Kiyomitsu designed a print to commemorate this (UTS 6, CPl. 4; Shuzui and Akiba, 1944, Pl. 445). In 1762 Kamezō became proprietor of the family theatre, and took the name Ichimura Uzaemon IV, under which he continued to appear regularly on the stage. In 1779, the second month, he appeared as Soga Gorō in *Chō chidori wakayagi Soga* (KN 5, pp. 358 f.); and from the fifteenth day, fourth month, he performed as Gorō in *Kongen Yanone Gorō,* with Onoe Kikugorō as Soga Jūrō. (Another attraction at this time was Segawa Kikunojō III, in a commemorative performance of the famous *shakkyō* dance: cf. No. 53 in this catalogue, by Bunchō.)

Shunshō's print, which is probably one of a pair – the other depicting Kikugorō – shows several points of comparison with Kiyomitsu's, twenty years earlier. In both prints Uzaemon is clutching the pillar in the same way, and has his outer leg wrapped round it. The canopy too has the same diaper pattern. But Kiyomitsu's print is a mirror image of Shunshō's, and it also shows the arrow rack which is a standard stage property in *Yanone Gorō.*
926.18.205



141

142 **Shunshō.** The famous scene *Muken no kane*, from the play *Hiragana Seisuiki.* It occurs in Act IV (*yodanme*), and this print is from a set of eight (*hachimai no uchi*). We see Lady Chidori as the courtesan Umegae at the Chitoseya tea-house at Kanzaki. She has just tapped the water-basin standing by the verandah, whereupon 300 *ryō* in gold *koban* (a large coin) come tumbling down from the balcony of the second storey.


ひらかな盛衰記
四段目
八枚の内
むけんのかね

142

chūban, 24.2 x 18.4; 5 colour blocks; slight oxidation.
Signature: *Shunshō ga.*
Date: *c.* 1780.

I have not found others of the set. It seems likely that this print does not refer to any particular stage performance: but there were Edo Kabuki performances of *Hiragana Seisuiki* in 1776 (at the Morita-za: KN 4, p. 287) and in 1780 (at the Nakamura-za: KN 4, p. 409), the second of which would fit the period of Shunshō's print. It is interesting to compare with it a print which Shunshō did in 1775 for a performance of the *Muken no kane* scene by Segawa Kikunojō II (UT 2, Pl. 143; KN 4, p. 260): the earlier print, though much simpler, shows the same tremendous splash of water as the gold coins are scattered in all directions.

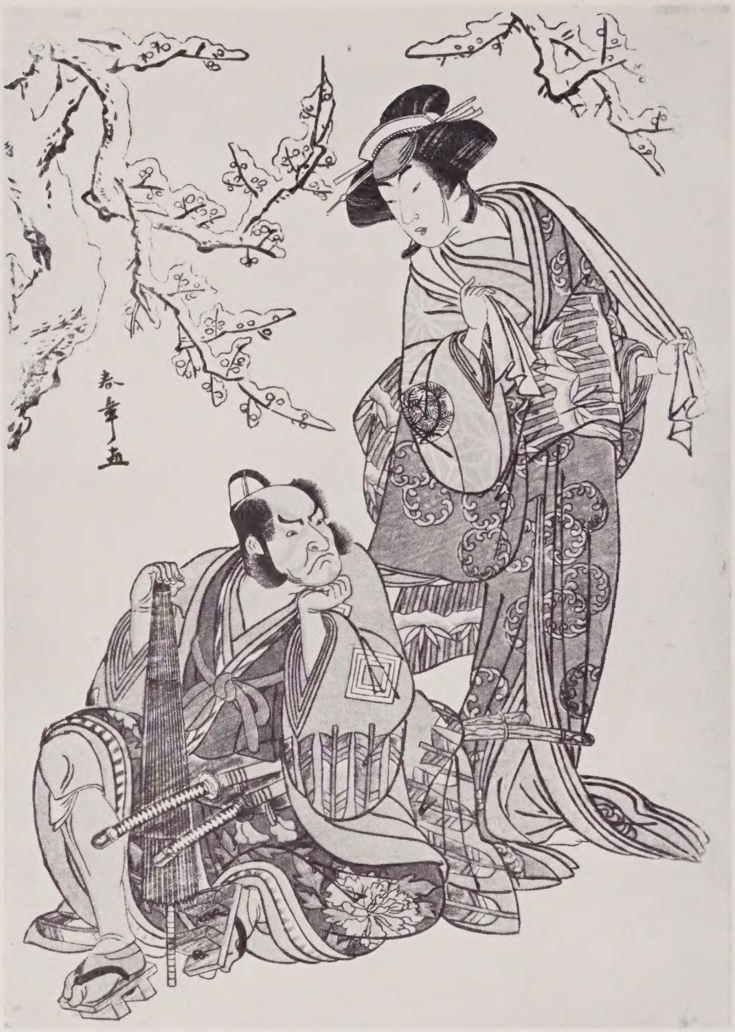
Hiragana Seisuiki was originally a puppet play, which received its first performance in 1739 in Ōsaka (KN 2, p. 306), and which was adapted for the Kabuki the same year, in Kyōto. It was first done on the Edo Kabuki stage in 1753, and continued to be popular during the rest of the eighteenth century. There are several Kabuki prints of the period which depict it: see, for example, Seidlitz (1910), Pl. facing p. 80.

The *Muken no kane* episode derives from a dance-piece made famous by Segawa Kikunojō I in 1728. This was based on a legend connected with the bell of Kōmyōji, on the Nakasendō, the mountain road between Kyōto and Edo. If one struck this bell, one would gain wealth, but fall into the hell of Muken (*Avīci*) in the next world. In *Hiragana Seisuiki*, the heroine taps the water-basin, as she recalls the legend of the *Muken no kane*; and her mother-in-law, visiting the brothel in disguise, overhears and takes pity on her. Thus Chidori can redeem her husband's armour, and he is able to fight for Yoritomo at the Battle of Ichinotani. 926.18.230

143 **Shunshō.** Nakamura Rikō I (Matsue I) and Ichikawa Danjūrō V in character. In the background, plum blossom covered with snow.

ōban, 32.1 x 22.8; 6(?) colour blocks; some oxidation.
Signature: *Shunshō ga.*
Date: 1782.

There are several similar prints by Shunshō which show a pair of actors, one seated, one standing, and which have been connected with performances ranging between 1778 and 1782. Danjūrō's costume here, together with the early plum blossom, suggests a New Year Soga play; and his umbrella suggests the part of Sukeroku. Nakamura Rikō I was born in Ōsaka in 1742, and assumed the stage name Matsue on his arrival in Edo in 1761. After a brief return to Ōsaka in 1772, he became Nakamura Rikō in the eighth month of that year, at the Ichimura-za, and remained in Edo until his death in 1786. He was one of the best-known *onnagata* of the day, and two of his specialties were Soga plays and the rôle of the courtesan Agemaki in Soga plays. The Spring play at the Nakamura-za in 1782 (KN 4, p. 468-69; KND, pp. 390-91) was one of the few occasions on which he played opposite Danjūrō. The main play was *Nanakusa yosooi Soga*, in which Danjūrō played Kanate Konosa, and Rikō played Ōiso no Tora. This was followed by items including a *jōruri* called *Sukeroku kuruwa no natorigusa*, in which Danjūrō played Sukeroku and Rikō played Agemaki. 926.18.206

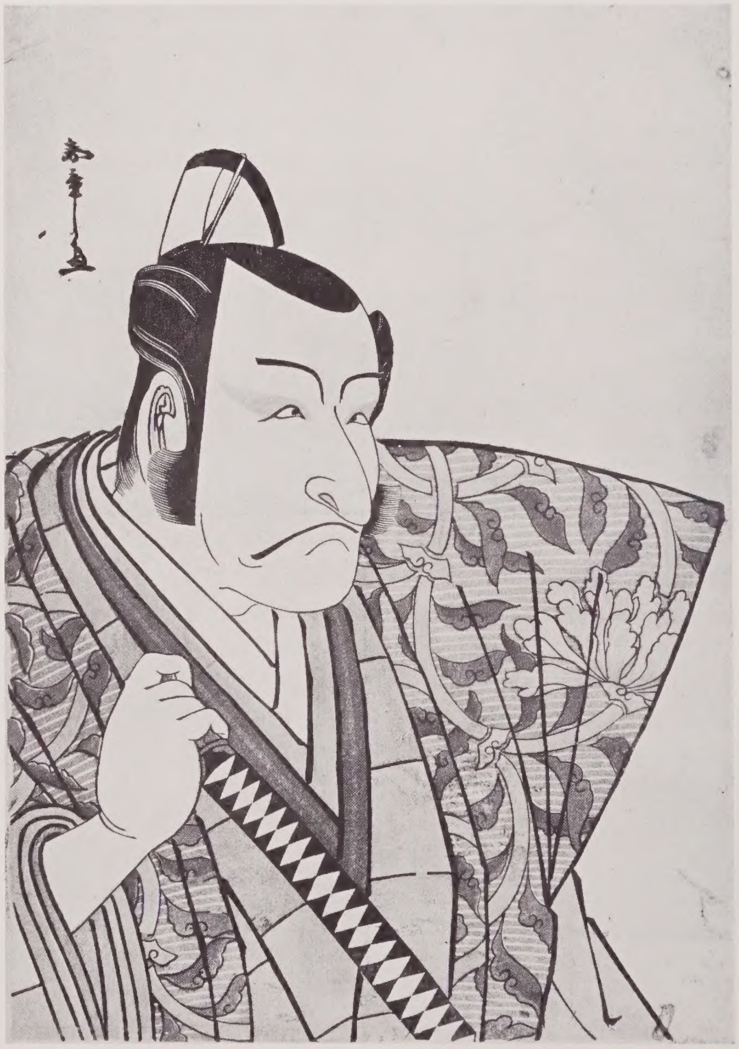


143

144 **Shunshō.** Portrait of Ichikawa Danjūrō V. He wears formal *kamishimo*, and holds the hilt of a long sword.

ōban, 32.3 x 22.3; 5 colour blocks.
Signature: *Shunshō ga.*
Date: 1780s.

Ichikawa Danjūrō V (1741-1806), who is easily recognised by his long hooked nose, was perhaps the most brilliant and versatile actor of his generation. He was for some time known as Matsumoto Kōshirō III, but inherited the title Danjūrō V late in 1770 (KN 4, pp. 143, 144). In late 1791 he handed over his title to Danjūrō VI, and himself became known as Ichikawa Ebizō (KN 5, p. 123). In Shunshō's impressive print, we seem to see the great actor at the height of his fame. This print, of which I have not traced other impressions, appears to be a portrait, rather than the commemoration of a stage rôle, and it is even possible that it was a tribute for Danjūrō's abdication of his title in 1791. 926.18.226



144

Toyoharu

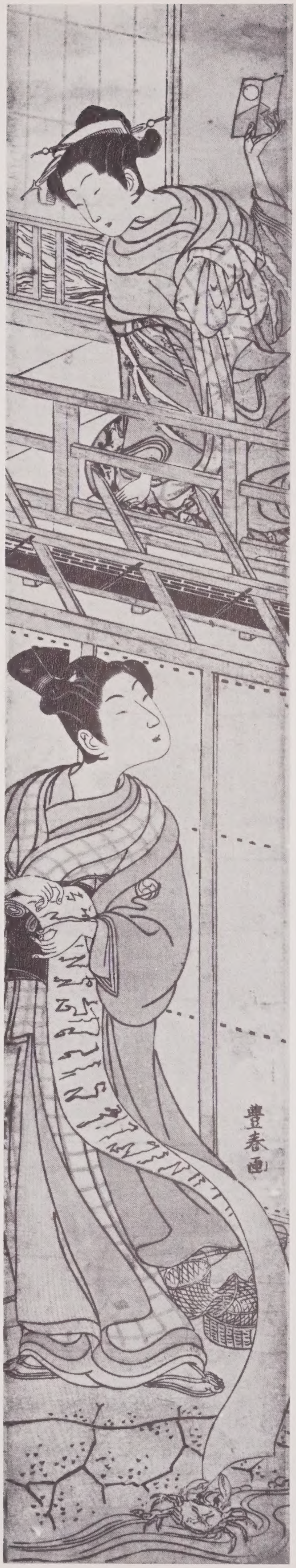
145 **Toyoharu.** Parody of the Letter-Reading scene from *Chūshingura*, the drama of the "Forty-Seven Ronin." A young man stands holding a long letter (written in reverse), while a girl sits on an upper verandah, attempting to read it with the aid of a mirror; and a crab is tugging at the end of it from the stream below.

hashira-e, 67.2 x 12.0; 7(?) colour blocks, faded.
Signature: *Toyoharu ga.*
Date: early 1770s.

This print, like No. 89 by Harunobu, is a parody of a famous scene from Act VII of *Chūshingura.* The hero Yuranosuke is living in a tea-house called Ichiriki in the Gion district of Kyōto, where he is being spied on by Kudayū. Another inmate is Okaru, formerly in the service of Yuranosuke's master, but now become a courtesan. A letter is brought to Yuranosuke, outlining plans for revenge, and Kudayū hides beneath the verandah in the hope of seeing what is in it. The story may be continued in the summary of A.S. and G.M. Halford (1956), p. 156:

> . . . A courtesan appears at the window of an upper room, overlooking the verandah. She is O Karu, not yet fully accustomed to her new life. She has come to cool her flushed face, for too much *sake* still makes her feel giddy. Yuranosuke re-enters, looking for his sword. Finding the place empty, he decides to use this opportunity to read his letter. He goes to the lantern hanging at the corner of the verandah and reads by its light. O Karu, looking down on him, thinks it must be a love letter, and, intrigued, tries to make out the characters. But she cannot read them easily for they are the wrong way round. She fetches her mirror and finds she can read them reflected in it. At the same time Kudayu, down below, is able to peruse the long letter which, as Yuranosuke unrolls it, hangs down over the edge of the verandah.
>
> Suddenly a pin drops from O Karu's hair and Yuranosuke looks up, sees her and quickly rolls up the letter. Part of the end, which Kudayu was holding, is torn off. Yuranosuke realizes that at least two people beside himself have had access to its secrets.

Utagawa Toyoharu (1735-1814) studied in Kyōto with a Kanō-trained artist before going to Edo in the early 1760s, but he is remembered above all for his *ukie* (European perspective) prints, the earliest of which was done before 1767. He also portrayed actors and other subjects, and painted. Late in life he helped to restore the Tokugawa shrine at Nikkō, and became a Buddhist monk. Among his pupils were Toyokuni (see Nos. 148-59) and Toyohiro. 926.18.157



145

146 **Toyoharu.** *Uki-e Jūnidan kangen no zu*, "Perspective Print: Picture of the Orchestra, from the 'Twelve-Part Story-Book' " (i.e. the *Jūnidan-zōshi*, or *Jōruri monogatari*, "Tale of Lady Jōruri"). We see On-Zōshi (that is, Minamoto Yoshitsune in early life) standing outside Lady Jōruri's garden playing his flute. He is accompanied by a servant with a lantern. On the other side of the fence Lady Jōruri's servant listens to him, and beckons to him to come inside. Within the house, whose walls are open to the garden, we see Jōruri playing the *koto*, with an orchestra of female attendants. The instruments, from right to left, are: *shō, taiko, kokyū, hichiriki, biwa, koto* and *kakko*. The garden is full of spring flowers; it is evening, and the moon is shining.

yoko-e, 24.5 x 37.4.
Signature: *Eshi Utagawa Toyoharu.*
Publisher: *Matsumura Ya [hei].*
Date: early 1770s.

There are other specimens in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.14727 [15-7-C]); in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (46-51-20: cf. Stern, 1969, No. 86 and CPl.); and in the Takahashi collection (Takahashi, 1938, Pl. 8). It is probably correct to distinguish two editions, of which that in Philadelphia, with lighter colouring, represents the earlier, and the Walker print, which has a stronger colour scheme, represents the later.

The same subject was treated *in reverse* by Toyoharu, on a *koban* print: cf. MFAB: 11.21801 (15-6-C) (also Res. 54.95 [15-6-C]). Stern points out that Toyoharu's design was also incorporated into a *hashira-e* by Toyonobu, as the *ema*, or votive painting, at a Shintō shrine: cf. AIC: 25.2870 or MFAB: 21.6282 (Spaulding 11-1). The subject was treated in *uki-e* form by earlier artists than Toyoharu: for example, by Moromasa (*v.* Gunsaulus, 1955, p. 186, No. 3); by Tanaka Masunobu (*v.* Hayashi, 1902, No. 289); and by Okumura Masanobu (*v.* Gookin, 1926, No. 16 and Pl.).

The story of Lady Jōruri and the young Yoshitsune was known to Japanese in the late fifteenth century, and was being chanted early in the sixteenth, at first without accompaniment, and later with the *shamisen.* In this form it was the ancestor of all the narrative songs performed to *shamisen* accompaniment, and the term *jōruri* is still used as a general name for a wide variety of Japanese dramatic music, most of which has nothing to do with Lady Jōruri. The earliest printed text which can be dated exactly is that of 1640, and there are many later versions which progressively simplify the story. In the original, which is written in a poetic and often euphuistic style, it falls into twelve sections (hence the title *Jūnidan-zōshi*), and the reader is referred to the valuable book by Dr. Charles Dunn (1966), pp. 31-34, for a summary of the whole.

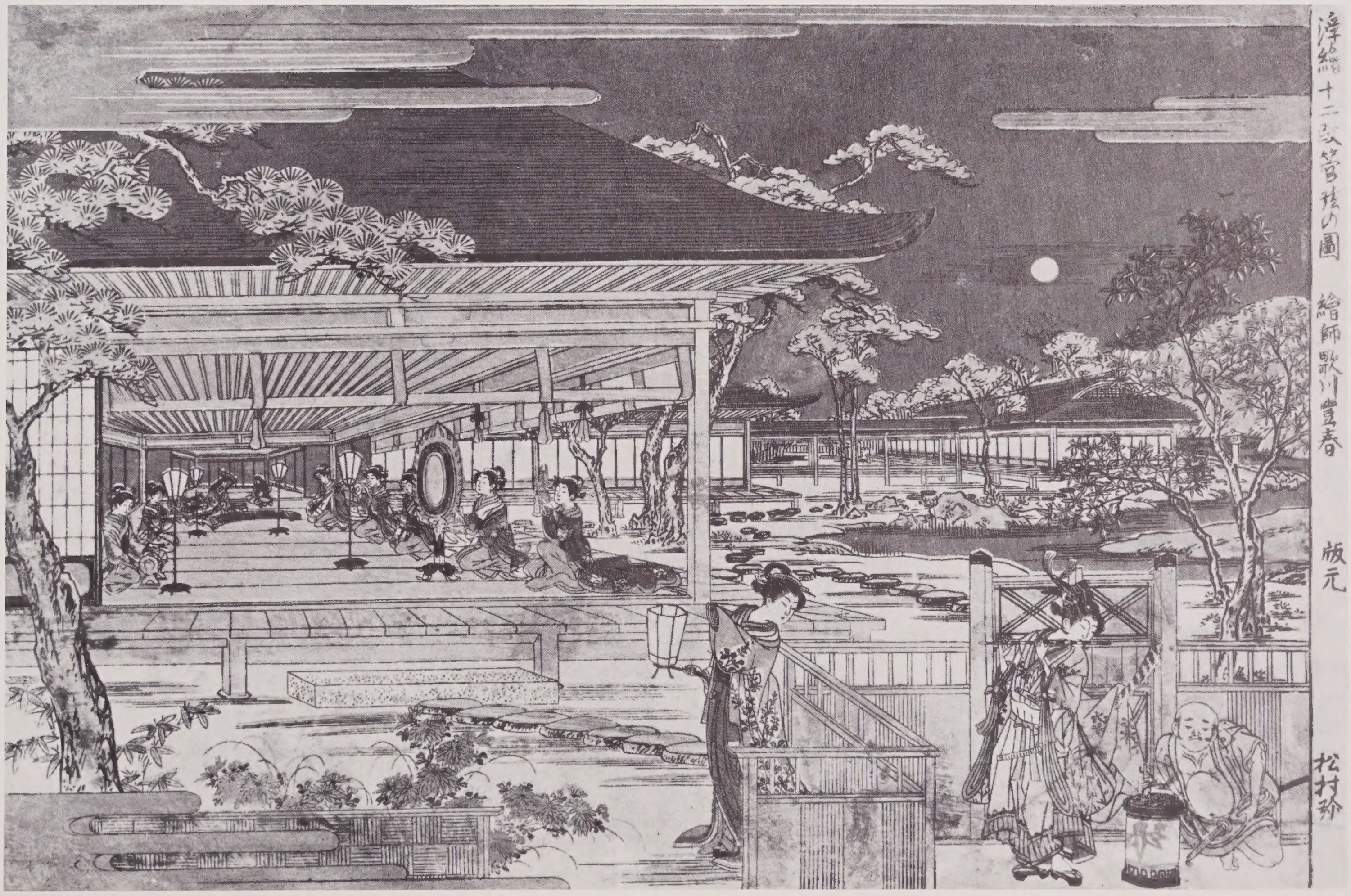
On-Zōshi (i.e. Yoshitsune) and his servant were travelling one spring in the north, and came upon the house of Lady Jōruri at Yahagi. They are greatly impressed by the variety and beauty of the flowers which surround it, and hear the sound of the most exquisite music coming from it. All this, and especially the garden, is described in great detail. On-Zōshi glimpses Lady Jōruri through the fence, and immediately falls in love. Section IV is entitled "Outdoor Music," and describes how Jōruri and her attendants proceed to make music by the light of the moon.

> The mode for the time of day was *Hyōjō*, and the music they played was very varied: "Taishō," "Sōfuren," "Sun-yōryū" and "Yahanraku"; and gradually they went through all the "secret" pieces. As the moon sank over the Western hills, both light and shadow grew dim: the petals of the flowers formed a carpet between the trees, and their colours and fragrance filled the air. The sound of the *biwa* lute, and the sound of the *koto*, came clearly across the void, and the heavy clouds that remain from evil deeds and affliction in the past all lifted. Listening, they thought that the Paradise of the Pure Land must be like this, and they wondered if it was here that the angels descended from Heaven, here that the Bodhisattvas revealed themselves. It was alike whether they knew or did not know: they shed a stream of joyful tears, and everybody's sleeves were moist.
>
> On-Zōshi, for his part, was listening to it and thinking, "Well now, the countryside's a gloomy place. Why, they haven't got a single flute for their orchestra! If they haven't a flute, they can't blow one! – And even if they *have* one, they can't blow it without somebody to do it for them! So in that case, Yoshitsune will do the blowing for them! If anyone objects, I'll say it is the flute they blow for grass-mowing at this time of year; and if they still object – well, I think that will be the time for the golden sword Konnentō of the Minamoto line to take over! Although I'm hidden here, I'm not really hidden; although I'm concealed, I'm not really concealed. I'm in a fine dilemma!"

He could not bear it any longer, and taking his flute from his waist, he removed its cover of brocade oilcloth. “Just the eight notes, *kan, go, jō, saku, chū, roku, ge* and *ku*,” he thought. “*They'll* scatter the dew on the flowers. In music there are, to be sure, many different pieces: music to make women fall in love, music to make a man long for a woman – and there's that piece “Sōfuren.” But never mind what people think, this place is only Yahagi, and it's only for a joke! Let the neighbourhood ring!” So saying, he blew his flute. (NKS 5, pp. 426-27)

The music stops, Jōruri sends a servant to investigate, and eventually they persuade Yoshitsune to come inside. He demonstrates his ability as a poet and as a performer on various musical instruments, and a passionate love affair ensues. 926.18.155

146


浮繪十二段管弦の圖
繪師歌川豊春
版元
松村弥

147 **Toyoharu.** *Uki-e Wakoku no keiseki Ōmi hakkei no zu,* "Scenic antiquities of the land of Yamato, portrayed in perspective: Picture of the Eight Views of Ōmi." A topographical view over Lake Biwa, incorporating each of the famous "Eight Views," which are identified by small labels, as follows:

TR: *Katata no rakugan,* "Wild Geese Alighting at Katata"
TR: *Karasaki no ya-u,* "Night Rain at Karasaki"
TC: *Hira no bosetsu,* "Lingering Snow on Mt. Hira"
TC: *Mii no banshō,* "The Evening Bell at Miidera"
TL: *Ishiyama no shūgetsu,* "The Autumn Moon at Ishiyama"
MC: *Awazu no seiran,* "Sunset Glories at Awazu"
BL: *Seta no sekishō,* "Evening Glow at Seta"
BR: *Yabase no kihan,* "Returning Sails at Yabase "

yoko-e, 26.9 x 38.8; 5 colour blocks, overprinting.
Signature: *Utagawa Toyoharu ga.*
Publisher: *Eijudō: Nishimuraya* + seal *han.*
Date: *c.* 1775.

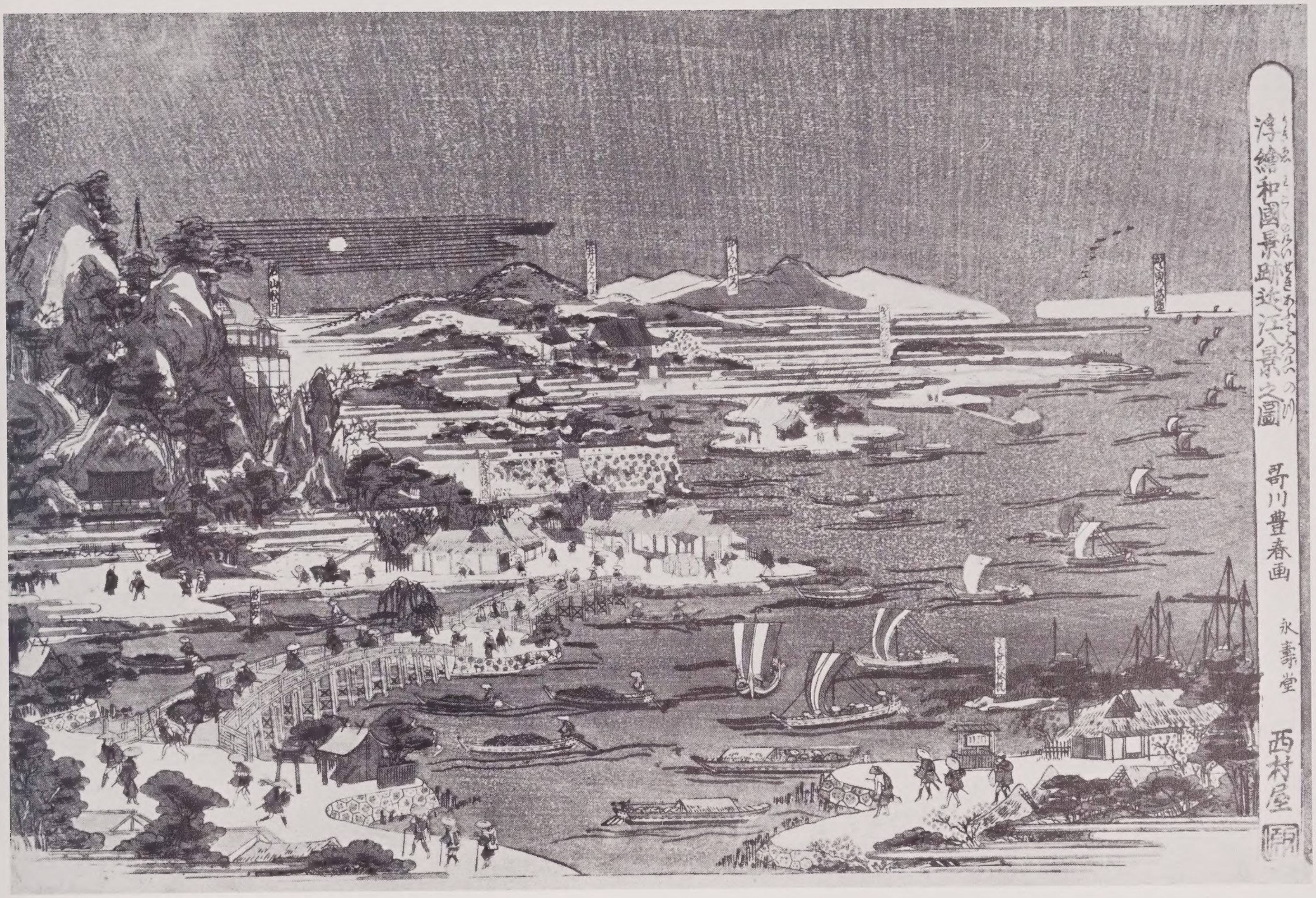
Another specimen: Michener (1959), No. 144.

The present writer has noted a total of thirteen perspective designs by Toyoharu whose titles bear the prefix *Uki-e Wakoku no keiseki.* These are (in no particular order):

1 *Ōmi hakkei no zu*
2 *Aki no kuni Itsukushima Benzaiten-zairei no zu* (BM: 1919.11.11.10)
3 *Ichinotani kassen saka-otoshi no zu* (BM: 1930.6.7.05; MFAB: 11.14728 [15-7-A])
4 *Yashima Dannoura kassen no zu* (BM: Binyon, 1916, B.2, 3; MFAB: 11.14735)
5 *Shinagawa mitōshi no zu* (NHBZ 3, Pl. 334; UZ 6, Pl. 20)
6 *Fūryū Wada sakamori no zu* (NHBZ 3, CPl. 45)
7 *Edo Fukagawa Hachiman no zu* (MFAB: 06.1351; UTS 10, Pl. 23)
8 *Kyōto Sanjusangendō no zu* (MFAB: 11.14712; UTS 10, Pl. 4; NHBZ 3, Pl. 335)
9 *On-zashiki ima-yō Ne no hi no asobi no zu* (UZ 6, Fig. 2)
10 *Goten-yama shin-en* (MFAB: 06.575)
11 *Shin Yoshiwara Naka-no-chō* (MFAB: 11.14734)
12 *Nakasu Shinchi nōryō no zu* (listed by Oda, 1931, p. 256)
13 *Yoritomo-kō Fuji no makigari no zu* (listed by Oda, 1931, p. 257)

Sometimes the final word *keiseki* is written with a different second character, to mean "scenic evenings." The title of the series was undoubtedly chosen as a way of distinguishing these prints from the series of "foreign" views by the same artist. Indeed, at least one of these "foreign" views bears the series title *Uki-e ikoku no keiseki,* "Scenic antiquities of foreign countries, portrayed in perspective." The publisher for all these prints seems to have been Nishimuraya, though Toyoharu also did perspective prints for Iwatoya and for other publishers. A detailed study of *uki-e,* and of Toyoharu in particular, has been made by Oda Kazuma (1931).

The colouring of the Walker print indicates that it may not be the first edition of this design. Toyoharu did another composite perspective design of the "Eight Views" theme, entitled *Edo hakkei no zu,* which was also published by Nishimuraya: there is a specimen of this print in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (MMA: 224; also cf. Yoshida, 1965, Vol. I, p. 78). 926.18.156


浮繪和國景跡近江八景之圖
哥川豊春画
永壽堂
西村屋

147

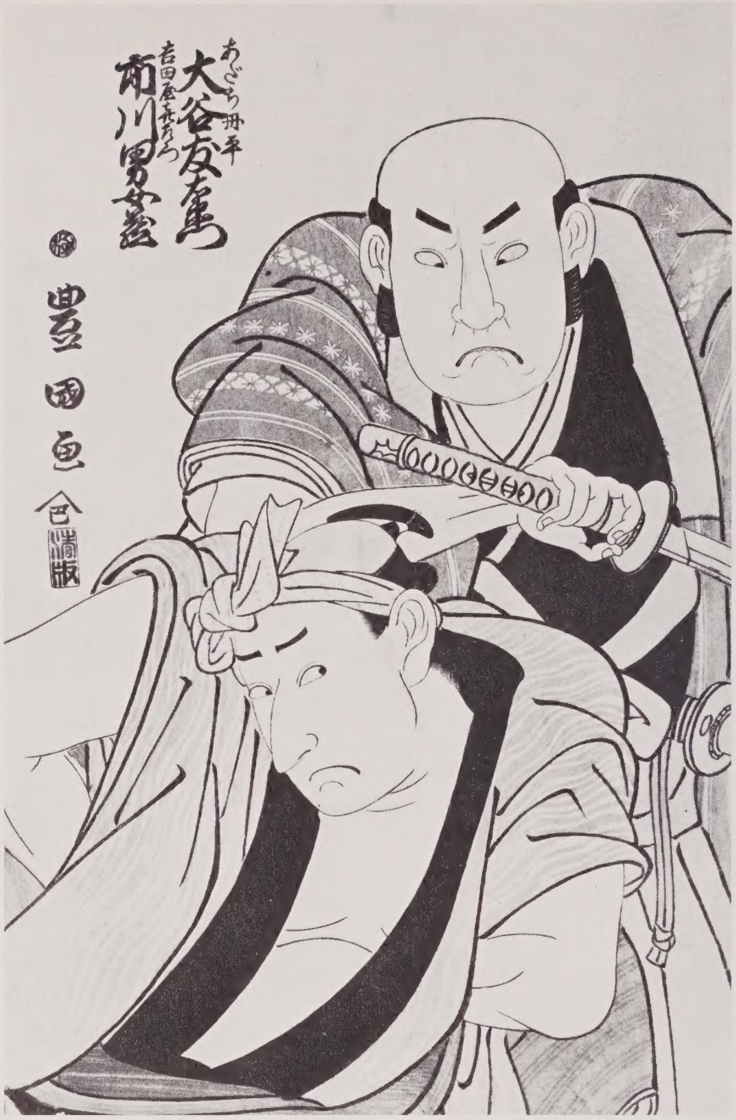
148 **Toyokuni.** *Ōtani Tomoemon* II as *Adachi Tanbei*, and *Ichikawa Omezō* I as *Yoshidaya Kisaemon*, the two villains of the piece.

ōban, 37.4 x 24.6; censorhip seal *kiwame*.
Signature: *Toyokuni ga*.
Publisher: trademark *Tomoe* and seal *Ju-han* of Nishimuraya Yohachi (Eijudō).
Date: 1798.

Utagawa Toyokuni (1769-1825) began his career in the late eighteenth century in a late eighteenth-century style, and continued it through the first quarter of the nineteenth century in an early nineteenth-century style. In this respect he may be compared with Hokusai, who was his senior by nine years and who outlived him by twenty-four years: but whereas Hokusai went on from strength to strength, Toyokuni's work shows a marked decline. The prints here chosen from the Walker collection are from his early period, and show him at his best.

Toyokuni was born in Edo, in the same block as Toyoharu (see Nos. 145-47), who seems to have helped the young man and from whom he took his art-name Utagawa. His first datable work consisted of illustrations to a *kibyōshi* novelette of 1786, *Tsuga mo nē hanashi no oyadama*; his first important print series, and his best, was *Yakusha butai no sugata-e*, put out by Izumiya Ichibē (one of Toyoharu's publishers) for a play in 1794. This was the same year that Sharaku leaped to fame with his great actor-prints for Tsutaya Jūsaburō, but Toyokuni's set appeared five months earlier. Thereafter Toyokuni did numerous other actor-prints, along with the usual miscellaneous scenes of Edo manners, customs and topography; and he had many pupils and followers.

Both the actor-prints included here show the influence of Sharaku. This print of Tomoemon and Omezō was made for a play at the Kiri-za in the third month, 1798, called *Miotsukushi Naniwa no nagame* (KN 5, p. 251; KND, p. 546). Ōtani Tomoemon II (1769-1830) first appeared in Ōsaka in 1785, came to Edo in 1792, and succeeded to the title Tomoemon II in the eleventh month, 1795, at the Kiri-za, which theatre he seems to have made his permanent base. Ichikawa Omezō I (1798-1833) was the eldest son of Ichikawa Monnosuke II, and became Omezō I in the spring of 1789. 926.18.478


あだち丹平
大谷友右衛門
吉田屋喜左衛門
市川男女蔵
豊国画
巴
壽版

148

149 **Toyokuni.** Portrait of *Eijudō Hibino* at the age of seventy-one (*nanajū ichi-ō*). He is seated on a large mattress, wearing a *kimono* and *haori* emblazoned with the character *ju,* which means at once “long life” and is part of the name of his business. A lacquered reading desk in front of him is decorated with his trademark of three commas (*tomoe*) beneath a mountain shape. The screen behind him shows the sun rising behind Mount Fuji; a falcon; and an egg-plant loaded with fruit. The poem on the screen reads:

ichi Fuji ni	First Fuji,
ni taka iro yoshi	second a falcon good in colour,
san nasubi	third an egg-plant.

(This refers to the belief that good luck ensues if one dreams of these three things, in that order, on New Year’s Eve.)

ōban, 37.4 x 25.9.

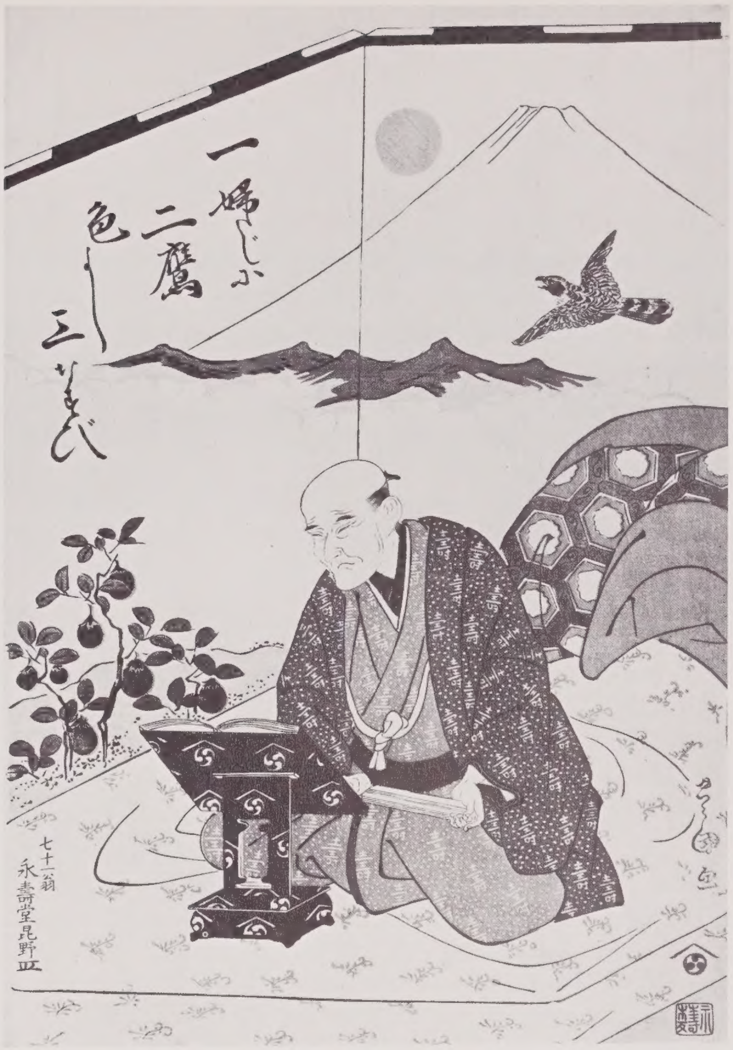
Signature: *Toyokuni ga.*

Publisher: trademark and seal *Eiju-han* of Nishimuraya Yohachi (Eijudō).

Date: *c.* 1799 (*ap.* Yoshida).

There are other specimens in the British Museum (1921.2.16.03) and in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (06.1059 and 21.6934). The subject is illustrated in Sotheby (1910.5.23), No. 241 and Pl. xv; Sotheby (1912. 6.3), No. 106 and Pl. vi; Yoshida (1965-71), Vol. ii, p. 331.

Eijudō Hibino was proprietor of the well-known publishing house, the Nishimuraya. He is said to have been the second son of the owner of the old Urokogataya publishing house, and to have been adopted into the Nishimuraya. Unfortunately the dates of his birth and death are not known, but Toyokuni’s print can be pinned down approximately by the style of the signature. Both Toyokuni (see TKH 3, Nos. 2498-2500) and Hokusai also did prints of Eijudō’s shop. The Sotheby cataloguer of 1912 suggested that the present portrait was intended for private circulation only. 926.18.482



149

150-2 Toyokuni. The *Hoteiya* drapery store on the corner of *Owari-chō,* as identified both by the large *noren* (sign curtain), which also bears a picture of Hotei (one of the Seven Gods of Good Luck), and by a wooden sign-board. The sign-board in addition says *Gofuku futomono rui yasuuri,* "Silk and other draperies to be had cheaply," and announces *genkin kakene nashi,* "Cash payment and only one fixed price." Elegantly attired ladies and their servants are promenading in front of the shop, while inside we glimpse a throng of eager customers.

ōban triptych, 37.2 x 74.1 (overall); censorship seal *saru shō,* "first month, the Monkey year," i.e. 1800 (on each sheet).
Signature: *Toyokuni ga* (on each sheet).
Publisher: trademark *Sen-Ichi* of Izumiya Ichibē (Kansendō) (on each sheet).
Date: 1800.

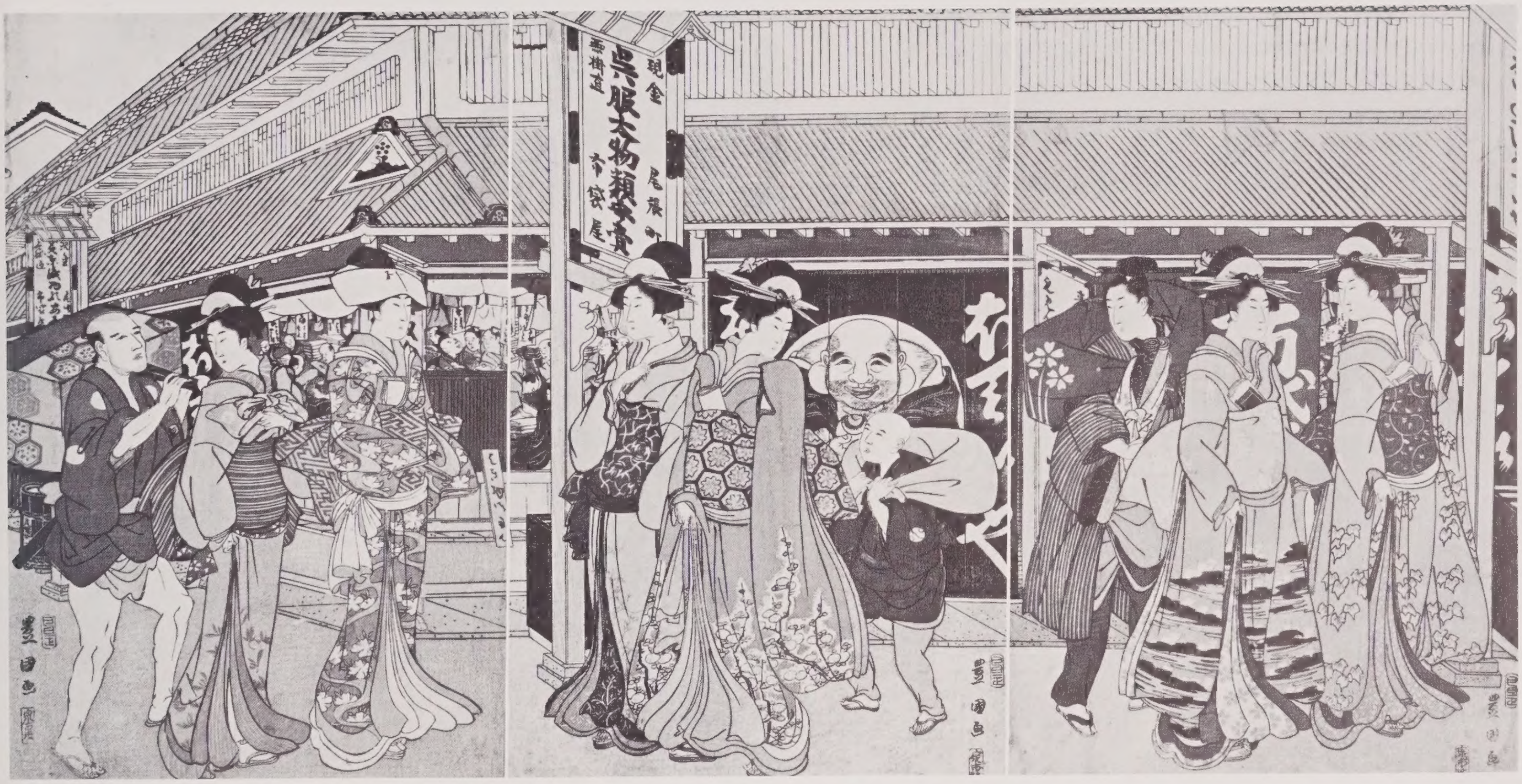
This print, which can be exactly dated from the censorship seal (see Ishii, 1932, p. 7a) must have been done as an advertisement for the Hotei-ya. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has the LH sheet only (11.13610). Boston also has a triptych by Toyokuni of another part of Owari-chō, showing a drapery store called the Ebisu-ya (21.7744-6 [Spaulding 2-17]). A triptych similar to the Walker design, by Toyohiro (d. 1828: another pupil of Toyoharu), and showing the Daimaruya shop in Shinomura, is illustrated in Sotheby (1914.7.21), No. 312 and Pl. XVI. It is said that the slogan *genkin kakene nashi* was introduced by an Edo shop, the Echigo-ya, in the Genroku period at the end of the seventeenth century. 926.18.485

153-5 Toyokuni. A group of *zatō* (blind musicians) crossing a narrow foot-bridge. The bags which two of them are carrying on their shoulders contain *biwa* lutes.

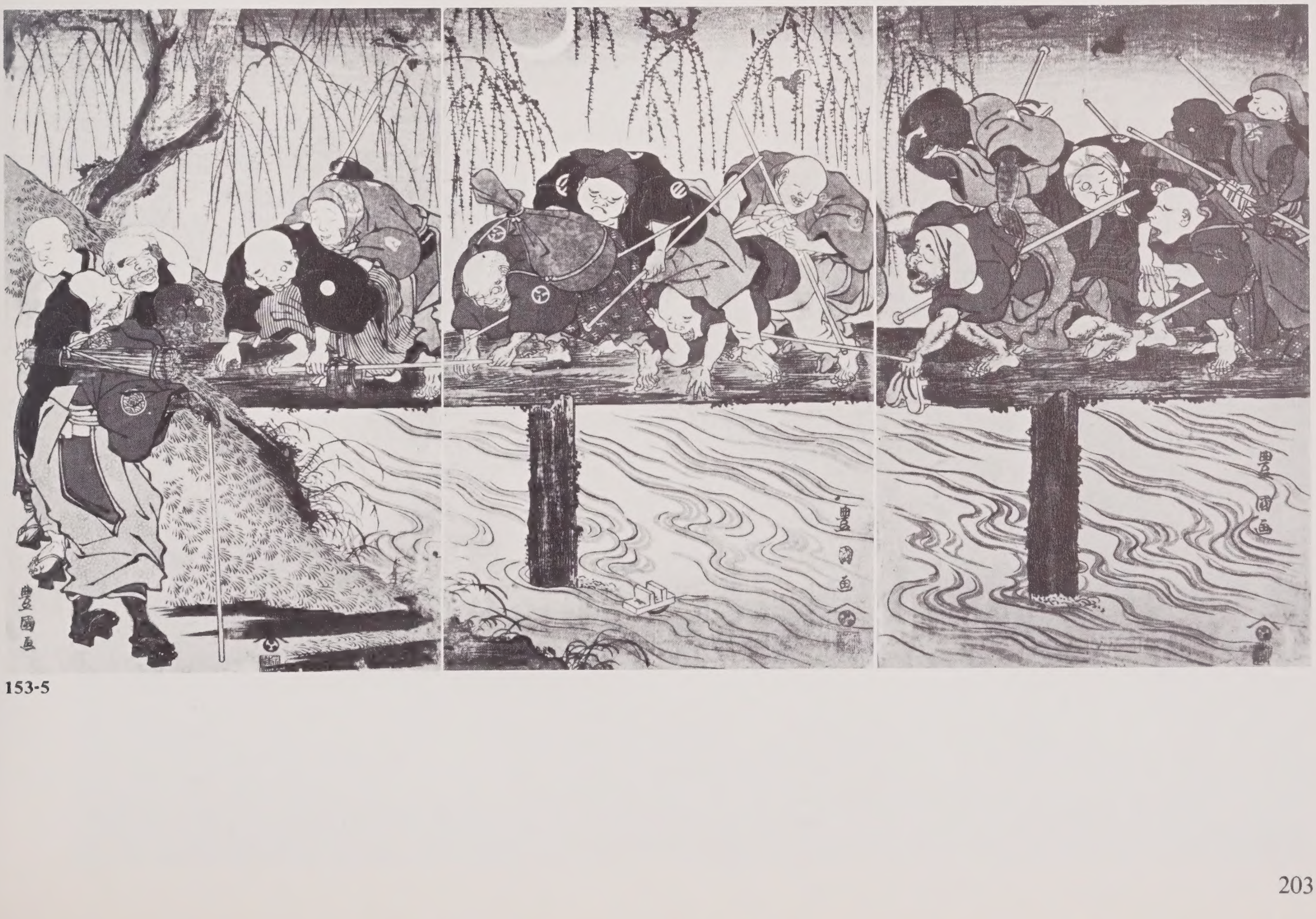
ōban triptych, 38.0 x 25.5 (R); 38.1 x 25.5 (C); 38.4 x 25.5 (L).
Signature: *Toyokuni ga* (on each sheet).
Publisher: trademark and seal *Eiju han* of Nishimuraya Yohachi (Eijudō).
Date: *c.* 1800.

There are other sets of this triptych in the British Museum (Binyon, 1916, B.107) and in the Tōkyō National Museum (TKH 3, Nos. 2522-24); and the subject is illustrated in UT 9, Pl. 184. Toyokuni later did a single *ōban* print of the same subject, part of a set in Toba-e style, with an inscription by Shikitei Samba: see MFAB:50.2108 (16-10-E). This second print was published by Tsuruya. There is also an *ōban* triptych by Toyokuni of a party of pretty girls crossing a similar log bridge: see UT 9, Pl. 50.

It is at first tempting to compare this print with Breughel's famous painting of blind men crossing a bridge: but whereas Breughel's intent is allegorical and religious, Toyokuni's print is a *giga,* a joke picture – which it is possible either to regard as in slightly bad taste or to enjoy as simple fun. For the guilds of blind men, especially musicians, who enjoyed some government protection in the Tokugawa period, see Nakayama (1934), *passim.* 926.18.486


呉服太物類安賣
豊國画
豊國画
豊國画

150-2

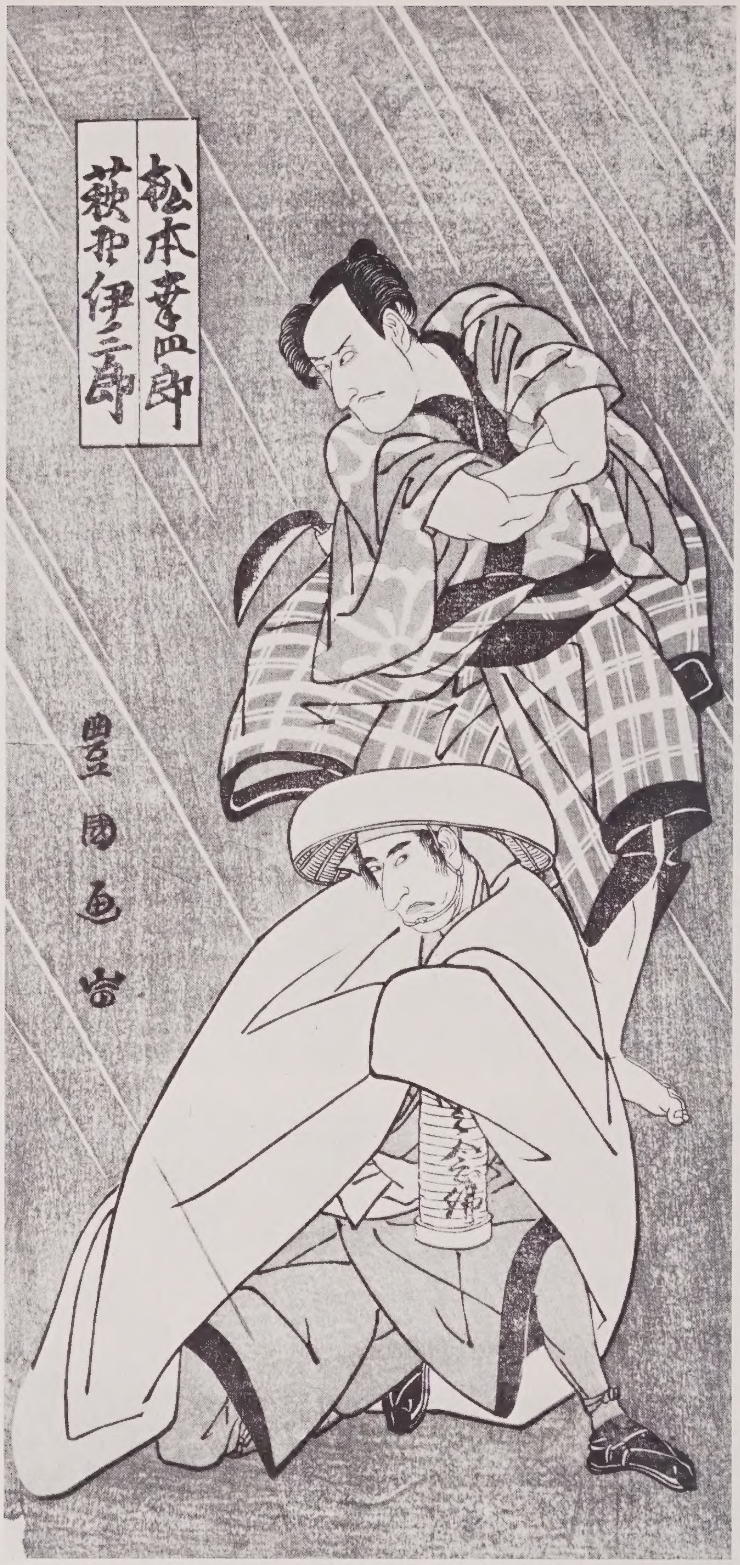


153-5

156 **Toyokuni.** *Matsumoto Kōshirō* V and *Ogino Isaburō* II in character as two villains striking poses. Kōshirō, with his arms folded, has a small sickle tucked under his sleeve; Isaburō, disguised as a pilgrim, wears a yellow cape and straw hat, and carries a lantern inscribed . . . *nenbutsu.* It is night, and the sky is streaked with rain.

hosoe, 33.2 x 15.1.
Signature: *Toyokuni ga.*
Publisher: trademark *Iwa* of Iwatoya Kisaburō (Eirindō).
Date: *c.* 1803 (*ap.* Succo).

Subject illustrated: UT 9, Pl. 131; listed by Succo (1913), Vol. II, No. 488c. I have not identified the play. Matsumoto Kōshirō V (1764-1838) was known as Ichikawa Komazō from 1772 to 1801, when he succeeded to his father's title as Kōshirō V. He was famous, among other things, for his big nose and eyes. Ogino Isaburō II (1750-1829) succeeded to the name Isaburō in 1789.
926.18.483


松本幸四郎
荻野伊三郎
豊国画

156

157-9 Toyokuni. A party of girls enjoying a "Winding Water Banquet" in the spring countryside. In the distance, Mount Fuji.

ōban triptych, 37.0 x 72.7 (overall); censorship seal *kiwame* (on each sheet).

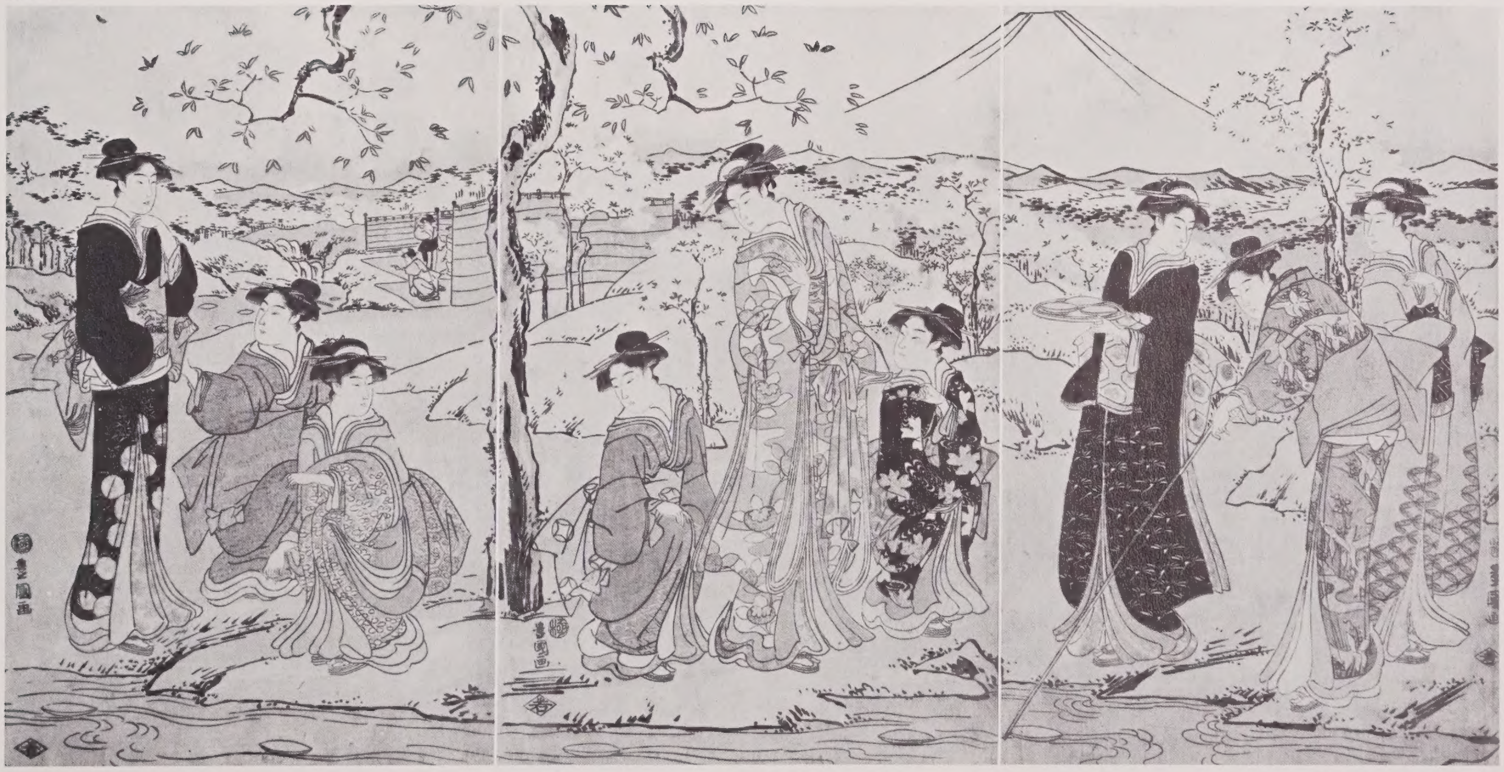
Signature: *Toyokuni ga.*

Publisher: trademark *Waka* of Wakasaya Yoichi (Jakurindō) (on each sheet).

Date: *c.* 1805.

Another set is in the British Museum (Binyon, 1916, B.105). The Winding Water Banquet was an entertainment originally popular in the Heian period. "The guests sat by the edge of a stream, or an artificial rivulet in the palace courtyard. As a wine cup floated by them on the water, they took it up and drank, recited a poem or capped a verse, and let the cup pass on" (Sansom, 1952, p. 236). Toyokuni's charming print shows the tall figures which were fashionable in *ukiyoe* by this date. 926.18.484

157-9



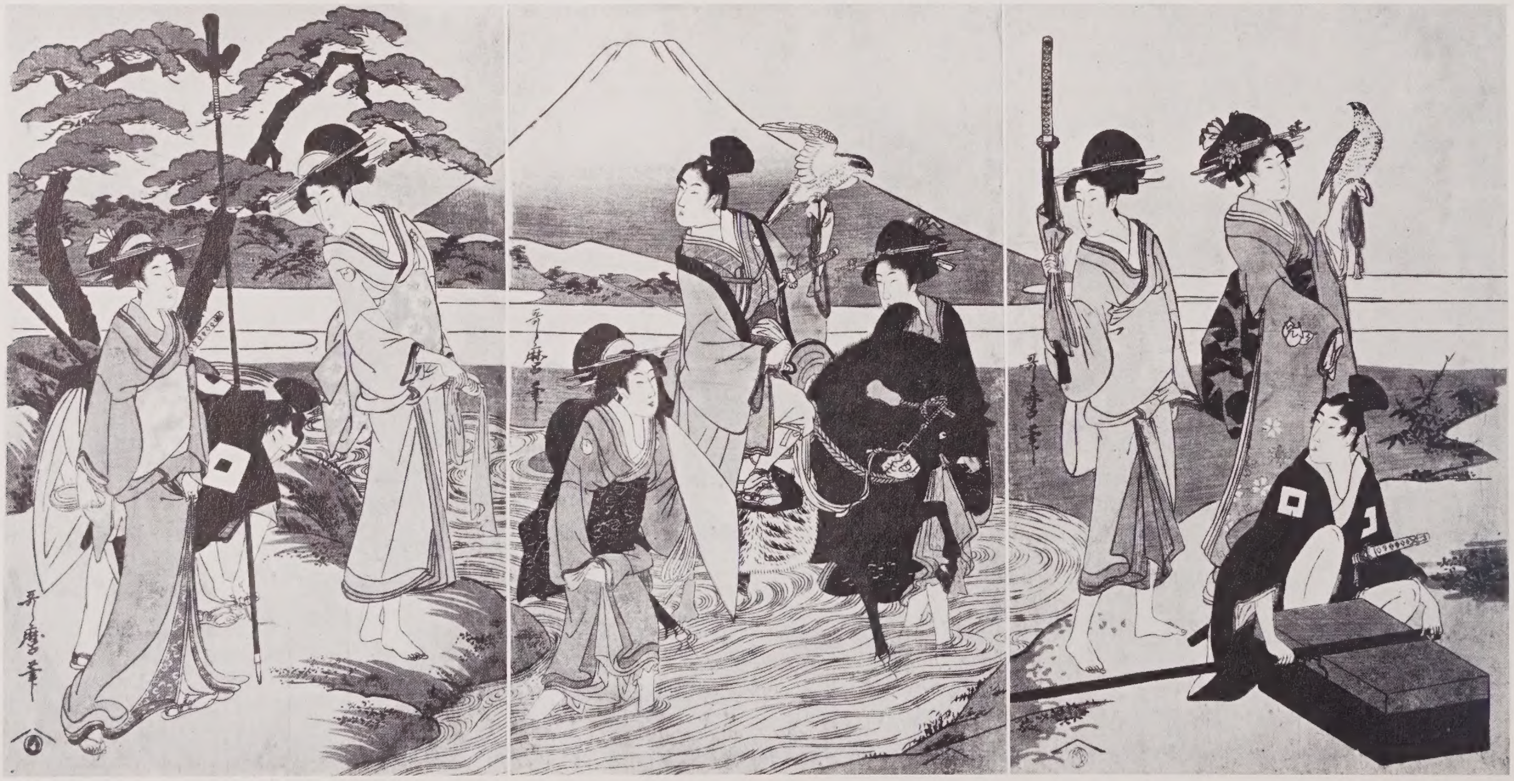
160-2 Utamaro. A hunting party within view of Mount Fuji. A young *samurai,* on horseback and holding a falcon, is fording a stream with his party, which comprises two manservants and five pretty girls.

ōban triptych, 38.6 x 75.5 (overall).
Signature: *Utamaro hitsu* (on each sheet).
Publisher: trademark of Tsuruya Kiuemon (Senkakudō) (on each sheet).
Date: *c.* 1790.

There are other sets of this fine triptych in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.7682-4 [Spaulding 2-16]) and in the British Museum (Binyon, 1916, B.107: trimmed T, B).

Many details of the life of Kitagawa Utamaro (1753-1806) are unclear: but he is known to have been a pupil of Toriyama Sekien (1712-88), and his early patron was the publisher Tsutaya Jūsaburō, whose establishment near the Yoshiwara would give the young artist chance to know both other *ukiyoe* artists and famous courtesans of the day. His earliest datable works are illustrations to a Tomimoto chant-book of 1775 and a single-sheet print of 1776; and many of his early prints were book-illustrations for Tsutaya. His style drew on the legacy of both Shunshō and Kiyonaga, but his voluptuous and technically adventurous prints of women are beyond anything attempted by earlier masters. Despite much that has been published about him (cf. Yoshida, 1941; Hillier, 1961; Shibui, 1964), we still await a definitive catalogue of his work. 926.18.424

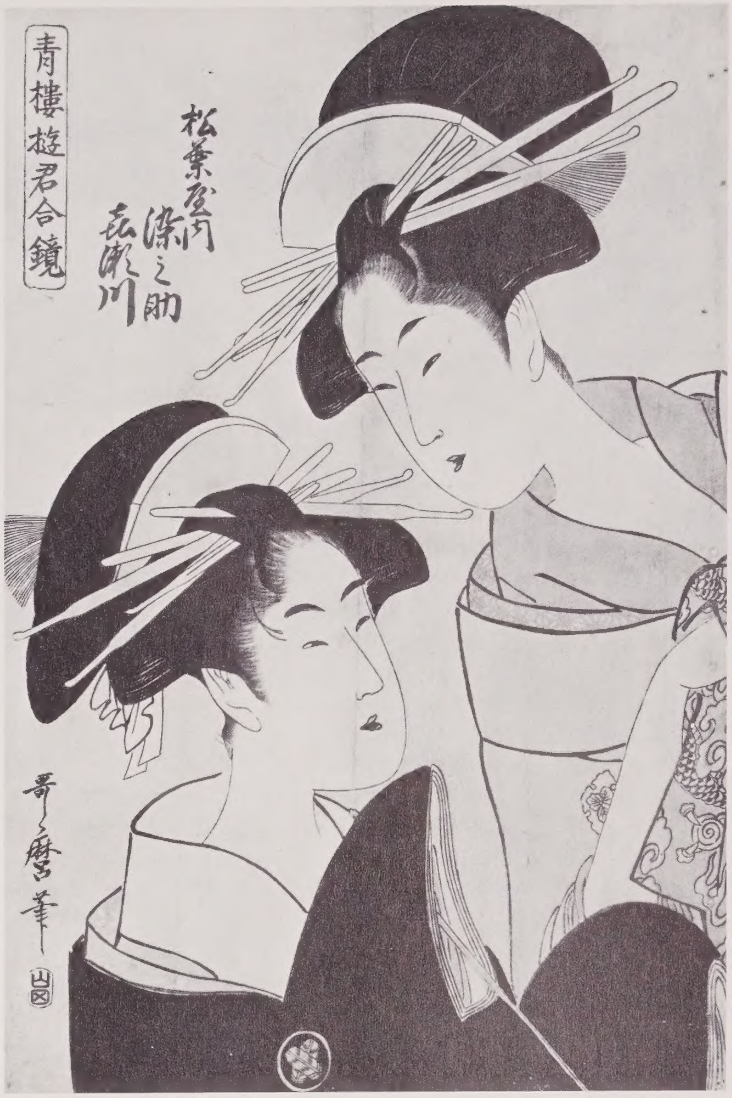
160-2



163 **Utamaro.** *Matsubaya-uchi Somenosuke, Kisegawa,* “Somenosuke and Kisegawa, from the Matsubaya.” Series: *Seirō yūkun awase kagami,* “Mirror of Assembled Beauties from the Mistresses of Pleasure in the Yoshiwara.”

ōban, 37.9 x 24.7; vertical crease (M).
Signature: *Utamaro hitsu.*
Publisher: seal *Yamada* of Yamadaya Sanshirō.
Date: earlier 1790s.

Subject illustrated: Yoshida (1941), Pl. 459; Shibui (1964), p. 115. Shibui illustrates four of the set. For the Matsubaya, see the print by Koryūsai, No. 106.
926.18.381



163

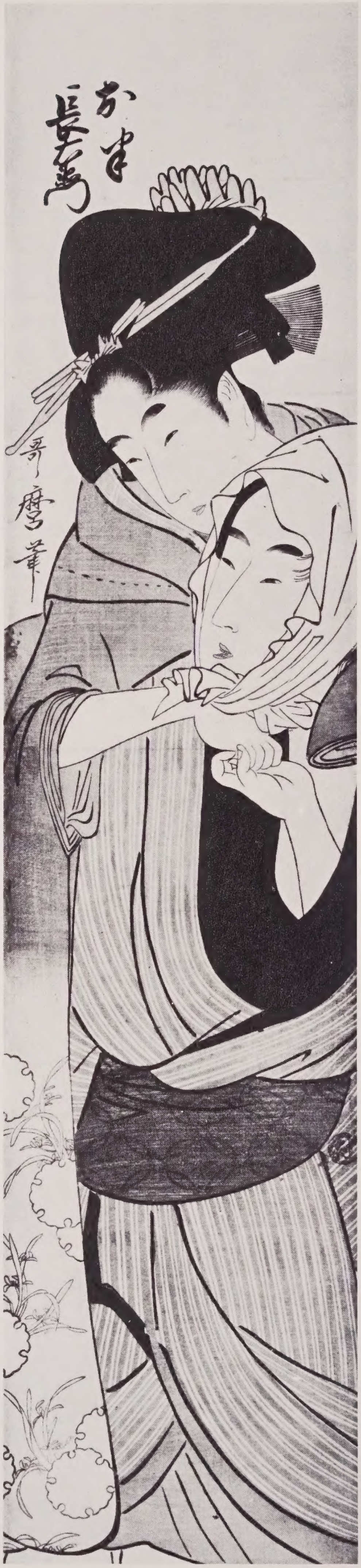
164 **Utamaro.** Ohan on the back of *Chōemon,* going towards the Katsura River in Kyōto.

hashira-e, 64.2 x 14.5.
Signature: *Utamaro hitsu.*
Publisher: seal *Mura* of Murataya Jirobei (Eiyūdō).
Date: later 1790s.

The story of Ohan and Chōemon was frequently depicted in late eighteenth-century *ukiyoe,* by Kiyonaga and Sharaku among others. Utamaro himself portrayed them many times, and there are at least five versions of the design which we see here. These are:

1. ROM: 926.18.418.
2. BM: (Binyon, 1916, B.88). This pillar-print is inscribed with a series title *Tokiwazu Tomimoto Jōruriya* (cf. MFAB: 06.1490 for another of the set), and has a censorship seal. It is hard to say whether it or the Toronto print is earlier.
3. MFAB: 49.1293 (a late design, probably pirated from 1 or 2.
4. Shibui (1964), p. 202 (an *ōban,* dated by Shibui 1801, and with a long inscription by Utamaro about his print).
5. MFAB: 21.6348 (Spaulding 2-8) (also Shibui, 1964, p. 227: a *nagaban* print, dated by Shibui *c.* 1801).

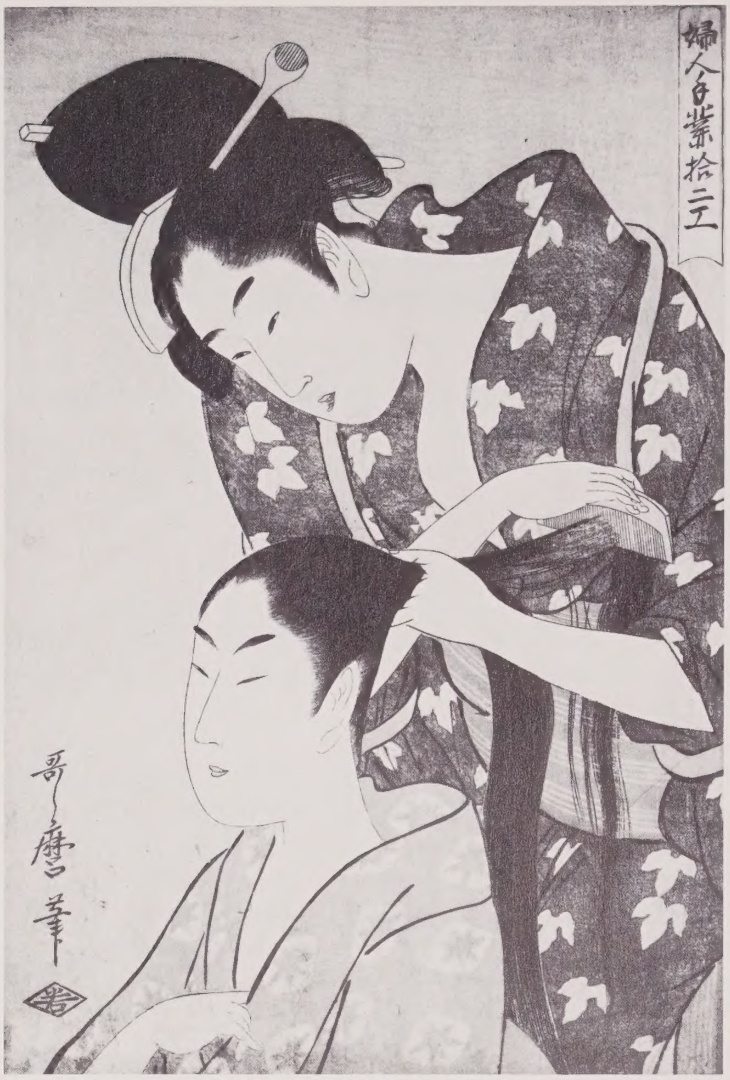
The bodies of Obiya Chōemon, a man aged about fifty, and Shinanoya Ohan, a girl of fourteen or fifteen, were found floating in the Katsura River some time before 1728, when the first of many plays and lyrical ballads about them was produced, at the Sanjūrō-za in Ōsaka (KN 2, p. 125). It turned out that they had in fact been murdered by a robber, but popular fancy soon made the affair into a double suicide, for which various explanations were invented. Other productions closer to Utamaro's time are: *Katsuragawa koi no shigarami* (a *Sonohachi* ballad first presented some time before the later 1760s); *Katsuragawa rennori shigarami* (Ōsaka, 1780); *Kabuki no hana bandai Soga,* Act 2 (Edo, 1781); *Katsuragawa tsuki omoide* (Edo, 1794); and *Obi no aya Katsura no kawamizu* (Edo, 1796). (For further details, see Iizuka, 1926, pp. 942 f.; EHD; Atsumi, 1956; Yoshida, 1965-71.) 926.18.418



165 Utamaro. Combing hair. From the series *Fujin tewaza jūnikō,* "Twelve Practical Skills of Married Women." The lady of the house is having her hair done by a maid.

oban, 38.3 x 25.7.
Signature: *Utamaro hitsu.*
Publisher: trademark *Waka* of Wakasaya Yoichi (Jakurindō).
Date: late 1790s.

There are two other specimens in the British Museum (Binyon, 1916, B.30, and 1937.7.10.096). The subject is illustrated in UT 7, Pl. 222; Yoshida (1941), Pl. 480. The whole set of twelve prints is illustrated by Shibui (1964), p. 103. The Walker print is a fine impression of one of Utamaro's best designs. Cf. No. 166. A third print, not included in this catalogue, is 926.18.407. 926.18.371

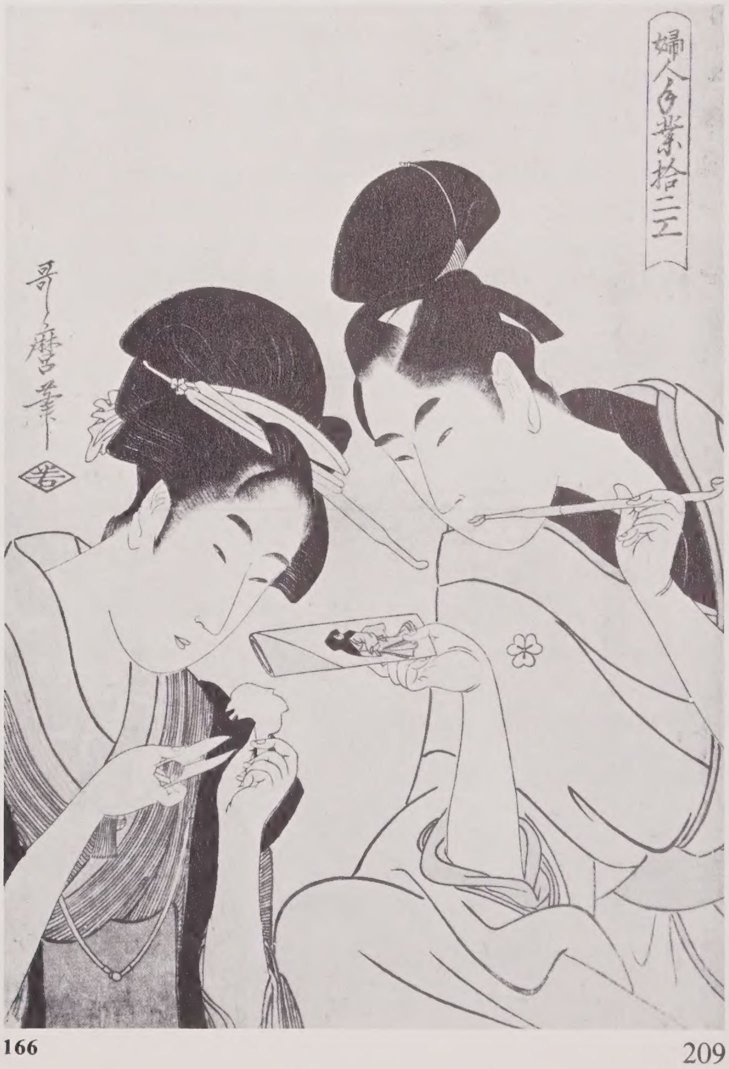


165

166 Utamaro. Making paper cut-outs. From the series *Fujin tewaza jūnikō,* "Twelve Practical Skills of Married Women." A husband hands his wife a roll of paper for her to cut.

ōban, 37.6 x 25.7; some wormage (TR, L).
Signature: *Utamaro hitsu.*
Publisher: trademark *Waka* of Wakasaya Yoichi (Jakurindō).
Date: late 1790s.

Another specimen: Bertram J. Malenka coll., Belmont, Mass. The subject is illustrated in UT 7, Pl. 224; Yoshida (1941), Pl. 488; Shibui (1964), p. 103 (the whole set). Cf. No. 165. 926.18.426



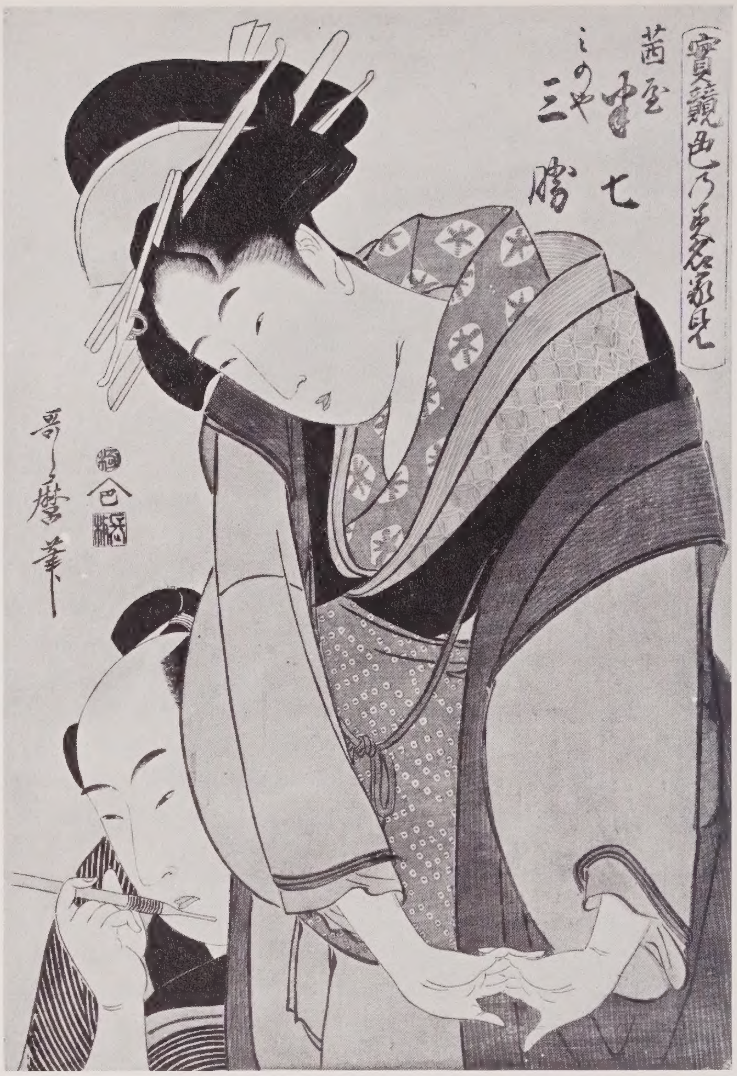
166

167 Utamaro. *Akaneya Hanshichi* and her lover *Minoya Sankatsu.* From a series *Jitsu kurabe iro no minakami.*

ōban, 38.9 x 26.3; slight wormage (MR); censorship seal *kiwame.*
Signature: *Utamaro hitsu.*
Publisher: trademark and seal *Ju-han* of Nishimura Yohachi (Eijudō).
Date: *c.* 1800.

Subject illustrated: Yoshida (1941), Pl. 363; Shibui (1964), p. 110. Shibui illustrates a total of 15 designs from the set. Utamaro illustrated the pair on other occasions: e.g. Shibui, p. 161.

Hanshichi and Sankatsu were one of the numerous pairs of lovers who committed suicide together in the Genroku period, to be immortalised later on the stage. Sankatsu was a low-class Ōsaka courtesan, with whom Hanshichi (already married to the faithful Osono) fell in love, and by whom he had a child. Eventually the luckless couple committed suicide together at a place called Saitara-batake, part of the burial ground of Sennichiji, an Ōsaka monastery. This was in 1695. The first puppet play followed a year later, with another one in 1709(?); and Kabuki versions started in Edo in 1716 (KN 1, p. 464). The Philadelphia Museum of Art has a print by Shigenaga of about 1730, which must be one of the earliest single-sheet depictions of Sankatsu (Stern, 1969, No. 34: the surname *Kasaya* given her on this print dates from the 1709 play). Later Kabuki versions were in 1756 and 1768; but in 1772, there was a new Ōsaka puppet play, *Hade sugata onna maiginu* (itself based on versions of 1746 and 1764: see EHD, s.v.), in which Sankatsu's name is again Minoya, and which is probably the more immediate source for Utamaro's prints. The subject continued to be popular in both Kabuki and the puppet theatre for many years, and is still a favourite on the puppet stage. 926.18.409


實競色乃美名家見
茜屋半七
みのや三勝
哥麿筆

167

168-70 Utamaro. Salt-gatherers on the shore at Suma. Most of them, after Utamaro's manner, are beautiful girls.

ōban, triptych, 38.9 x 76.0 (overall); surface somewhat rubbed.

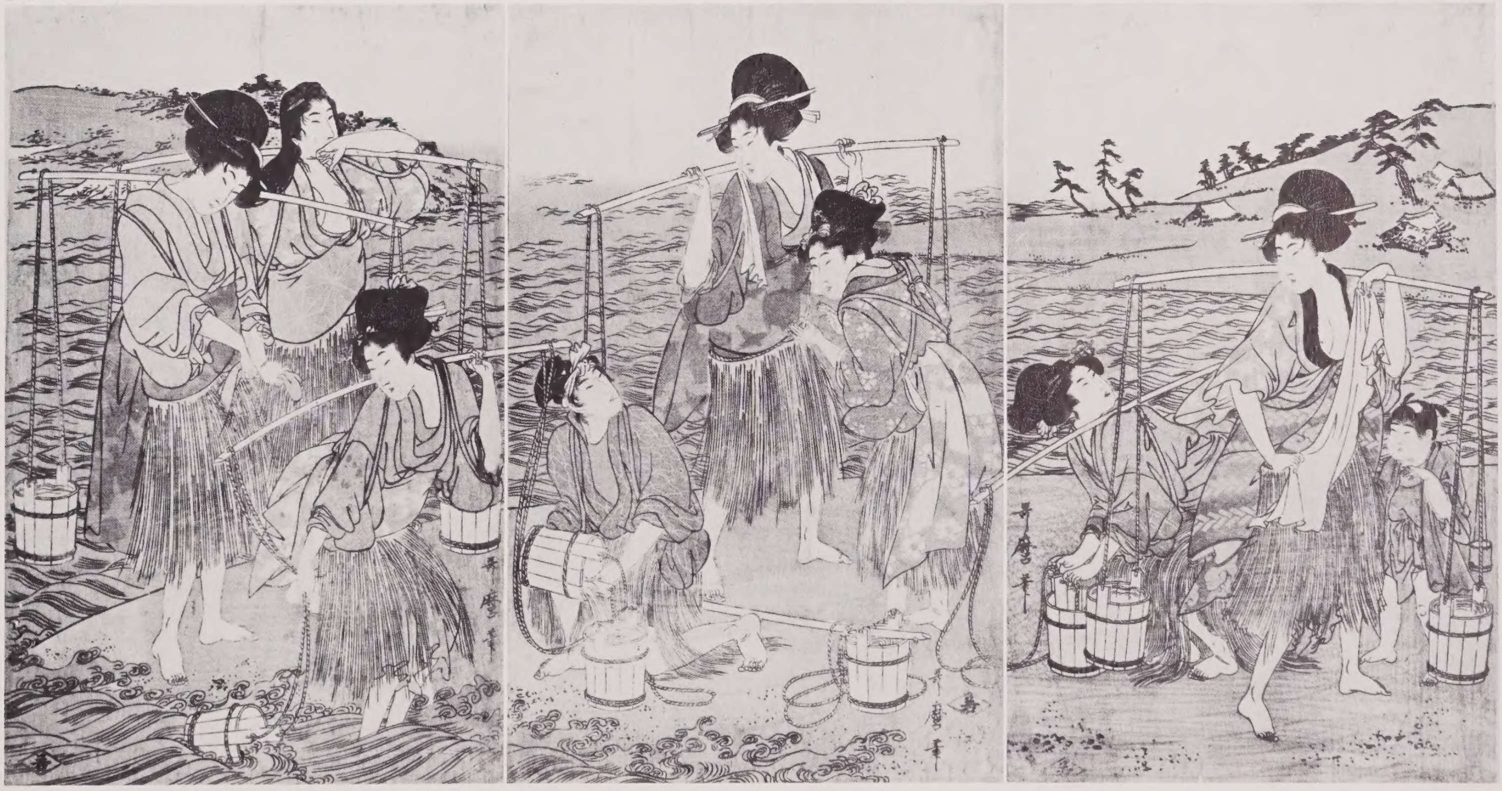
Signature: *Utamaro hitsu* (on each sheet).

Publisher: trademark *Waka* of Wakasa Yoichi (Jakurindō) (on each sheet).

Date: early 1800s.

Subject illustrated: Sotheby (1911.6.19), No. 154a and Pl. XVII; Shibui (1964), p. 34. 926.18.423

168-70

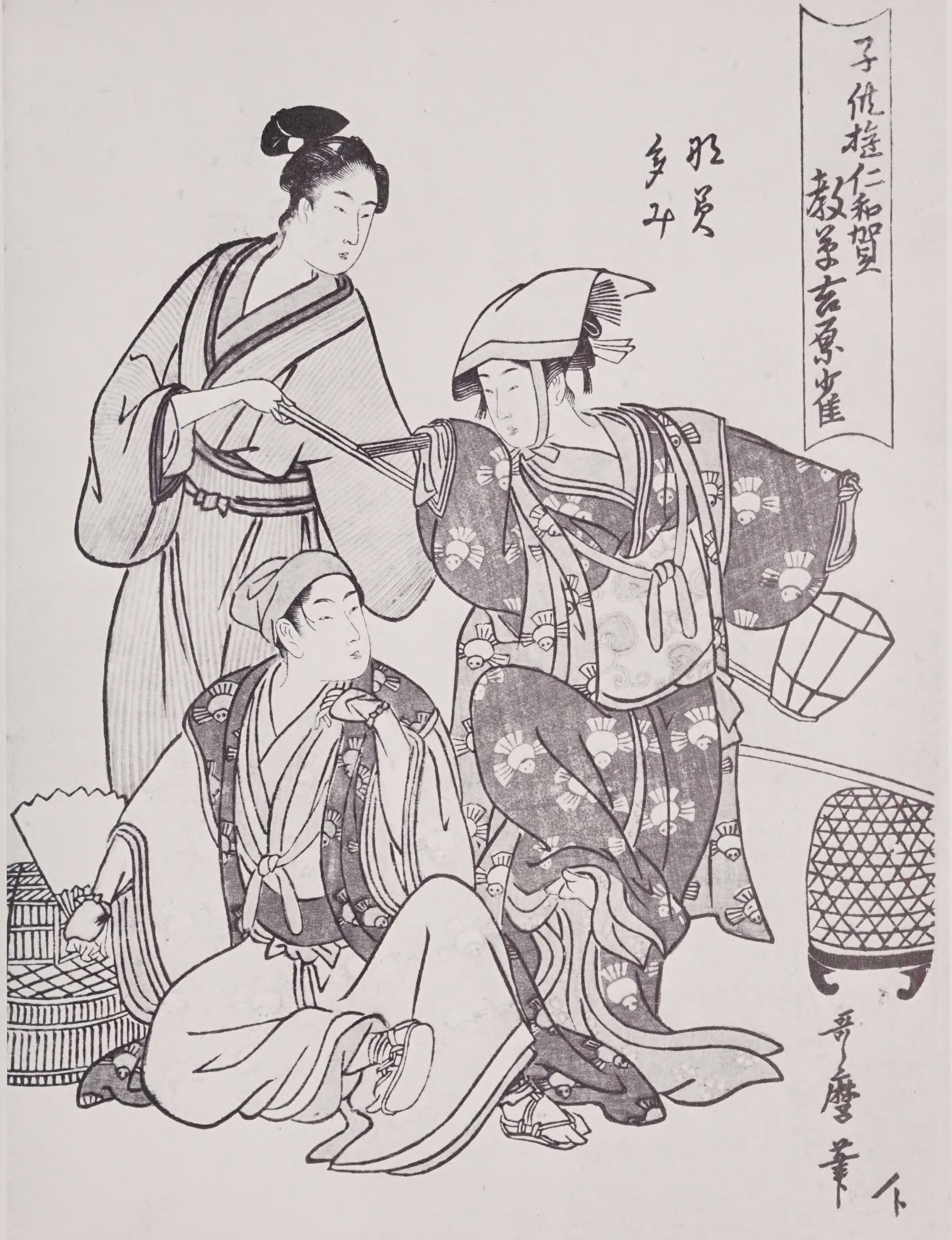


171 **Utamaro.** *Oshiegusa Yoshiwara suzume,* from a series *Kodomo asobi niwaka,* "The Niwaka Dance as a Children's Pastime." A boy and a girl, whose *kimono* bear identical sparrow designs, are performing a street dance in imitation of the Kabuki piece *Yoshiwara suzume.* Their names are given: *Nami* and *Tami.* Behind them, a young man holds a lantern; and, on the ground, a birdcage on a carrying-pole (BR), and two others (BL).

chūban, 24.6 x 17.9.
Signature: *Utamaro hitsu.*
Publisher: trademark of Yamaguchiya Chūsuke.
Date: *c.* 1805.

Shibui (1964), p. 159, illustrates another of the set, the size of which remains uncertain. Utamaro did more than ten prints of *niwaka* dancers, and there is also a plate of them in his *Seirō nenjū gyōji* (1804). For the history of *niwaka,* cf. the print by Eishi, No. 56.

Oshiegusa Yoshiwara suzume was a *nagauta* first produced in 1768 at the Ichimura-za (KN 4, pp. 80 f.) and still in the Kabuki repertoire. The *niwaka* often included such adaptations of Kabuki dances. 926.18.406


子供遊仁和賀
教草吉原雀
羽見
多み
哥麿筆

171

Glossary

Note

This glossary, of names and terms used incidentally in this catalogue, is intended for readers with little or no Japanese, or who are unfamiliar with Japanese prints. Words not defined here are listed in the Index, and are explained in the body of the catalogue.

ageya: Tea house – especially one in the Yoshiwara – where one made appointments to visit courtesans

akahon: type of *kusazōshi* (q.v.) with red covers, and popular *c.* 1675-1735. Mostly intended for children, and issued in small formats.

aohon: one of the successors to the *akahon* (q.v.), with light green covers. The contents were usually Kabuki texts, *jōruri* (q.v.), history or legends.

aragoto: "rough stuff": type of declamatory and flamboyant acting developed in Edo by Ichikawa Danjūrō I (1660-1704) for heroic roles.

ashida: see *geta.*

banzuke: printed programmes – of various types – for Kabuki, *sumō* and other public entertainments of the Edo period. Pictorial programmes (*e-banzuke*) were often designed by well-known *ukiyoe* artists.

benie: "pink pictures": black-and-white prints with carefully applied hand-colouring in which *beni,* an extract of safflower, was the predominant colour. The principal publishers were Izumiya Gonshirō and Okumura Masanobu, and their heyday was the 1730s. Cf. *benizuri-e.*

benizuri-e: "pink-printed pictures": the successor to the *benie* (q.v.), developed in the early 1740s and using two (later sometimes three or four) colour blocks – pink and green, or pink and blue, being the most common combinations.

biwa: Japanese equivalent of the Chinese *p'i-p'a* lute, a pear-shaped instrument ultimately deriving from Persia. Usually with four strings, which are plucked with a large plectrum. There are different *biwa* appropriate to different kinds of music.

Bunraku: abbreviation for Bunraku-za, one of the Ōsaka puppet theatres; later used as a synonym for the classical puppet theatre in general.

Chikamatsu Monzaemon: 1653-1724. Playwright at the Takemoto-za in Ōsaka, and author of most of the well-known puppet plays, many of which also passed into the Kabuki repertoire in some form.

chūban: "medium print": roughly 28 x 21 cms. First made popular by Harunobu.

e: "picture": used as a prefix or suffix to many words: e.g. *e-banzuke, mitate-e, yakusha-e.*

egoyomi: "pictorial calendar": a design in which the numbers for the long and short months in the year (under the old Japanese calendar) are concealed in or incorporated into the design. There are early examples by e.g. Kiyomasu (1727), but the greatest number of them appeared in 1765 and 1766, under the influence of Harunobu.

ehon: "picture-book," "illustrated book": the most general name for albums, illustrated stories, histories and other works, whether or not by *ukiyoe* artists. Often part of the title of a book.

ema: votive paintings, usually on wood, hung in the cornice of rooms in Shintō shrines and, sometimes, Buddhist monasteries. Originally of white horses (an ancient dedicatory offering), they embrace a variety of subjects, and were often done by *ukiyoe* artists.

fukibokashi: method of stippling colour onto *benie* (q.v.) by blowing the pigment through a small tube and masking the areas to be left uncoloured.

furoshiki: square of cloth, originally used in the 18th century by visitors to the public baths, to wrap up one's wet loin-cloth and other bathing gear for the journey home. The modern *furoshiki,* often of silk or other expensive material, and used to carry any small belongings, dates from the mid-19th century.

fusuma: the sliding paper wall panels of Japanese houses, often decorated with paintings.

ga: "painted by": the most common word following the signature of print artists. Cf. *hitsu, zu, sha.*

gagaku: Japanese court music. Developed mainly in the 8th century on Chinese models, and modified to Japanese taste in the 11th century and subsequently. Uses an orchestra of plucked strings, wind and percussion.

geimei: stage name of Kabuki actor or other entertainer. Cf. *haimei.*

geisha: "accomplished person": a professional entertainer at parties, usually female. *Geisha,* who were independent of the regulations affecting the Yoshiwara, appeared on the scene during the 1750s. In Western Japan they were called *geiko.* Male *geisha* were *hōkan* or *otoko-geisha (taikomochi* in Western Japan).

geta: wooden sandals which were developed during the 17th century as an alternative to *zōri* sandals, and which became especially fashionable among townspeople. There were various types for both men and women. The older type of wooden sandal, with high sole and heel, was called *ashida;* there was also an older type of straw sandal, the *waraji,* worn in the Edo period by country people and by children.

Gidayū-bushi: type of dramatic chant developed by Takemoto Gidayū (1651-1714) and used by him at the Takemoto-za, Ōsaka, to accompany the puppet plays of Chikamatsu (q.v.). Influenced all later theatre music, both for Bunraku and for Kabuki.

haigō: see *haimei.*

haiku: short verse, of 5 + 7 + 5 syllables, very popular in the Edo period. Its most famous practitioner was Matsuo Bashō (1644-94). Cf. *kyōka, senryū.*

haimei: name used by a Kabuki actor when writing *haiku* verse, as opposed to his *geimei,* or stage name. Also called *haigō.*

hanmoto: "published by," "publisher": often part of the imprint of one of the publishing houses.

haori: type of loose, short jacket which became popular with military men during the 16th century, and came into general use in the later 17th, but was restricted in its use by government regulation from the 1740s, so that until mid-19th century only *geisha* of the Fukagawa district of Edo were permitted to wear it.

hashira-e: "pillar-picture": type of long, narrow print probably invented by Okumura Masanobu. Of two types, one being roughly 70 x 12 cms, the other being roughly 70 x 25 cms., or double *ōban* (q.v.).

hichiriki: type of short cylindrical-bore oboe used in *gagaku* (q.v.).

hitsu: "brush of": often follows the signature of artists on prints. Cf. *ga, zu, sha.*

hosoe: "narrow picture": type of small print, roughly 30 x 16 cms., and much used in the 18th century, especially for *yakusha-e* (q.v.).

Ichimura-za: one of the three main Kabuki theatres in Edo; originally founded in 1634 as the Murayama-za, and re-founded in the 1660s as the Ichimura-za.

inrō: small lacquered box with several tiered compartments, designed to hold medicinal powders, etc., and worn at the waist by men, escpecially with *kamishimo* (q.v.).

jōmon: "fixed crest-badge": the usual *mon* (q.v.) by which Kabuki actors and others can be identified on prints.

jōruri: type of narrative chant accompanied by *shamisen,* and originally developed during the 16th century for the *Jōruri monogatari* (cf. No. 146). Later used to describe any such narrative chant-text or play, especially those for the puppet theatre.

ju: "long life": a Chinese character commonly used as a pious expression of good wishes.

Kabuki: the popular theatre of Tokugawa Japan, traditionally started by a female dancer, Okuni, in Kyōto at the end of the 16th century. It gradually overtook the puppet theatre in popularity, though it was much influenced by it; and it inspired thousands of *ukiyoe* prints during the 18th and 19th centuries.

kaemon: "alternative crest-badge", used e.g. by Kabuki actors, in addition to their regular *jōmon* (q.v.).

kakko: the hour-glass stick drum used in *gagaku.*

kamishimo: "upper and lower": formal man's costume, consisting of wide pleated trousers and a surcoat with broad epaulettes.

kamuro: young girl (or sometimes boy), aged about 10, who attended on a courtesan of the Yoshiwara.

kaomise: "face-showing": the opening performance in the Kabuki season, in the 10th or 11th month of each year.

karazuri: "empty printing": technique of embossing or gauffrage, by heavy printing with an uninked block. First used extensively by Harunobu.

Kawarasaki-za: Edo Kabuki theatre. Founded in the mid-17th century and in existence until 1877.

kibyōshi: "yellow cover-papers": type of *kusa-zōshi* (q.v.) popular from the early 18th century. The contents were usually facetious anecdotes or lampoons. Often illustrated by *ukiyoe* artists.

kimono: "something to wear": nowadays the most general word for Japanese women's dress, as opposed to Western. As applied to the Edo period, connotes especially the *kosode,* a type of short-sleeved robe which is the forerunner of the modern *kimono.*

kiwame: "inspected": included as a seal on most Japanese prints from *c.* 1791 to 1842, as part of the programme of government censorship of prints from 1790 to 1875.

koku: unit of cubic measurement, equivalent to 4.96 bushels, and used especially for measuring rice. The annual stipends of *samurai* (q.v.) were assessed in *koku* of rice.

kokyū: the Japanese 3- or 4-stringed fiddle, shaped like a small *shamisen.*

komusō: member of the Fuke sect of wandering friars, who played the *shakuhachi* (q.v.) and wore large basket hats concealing their faces. Often used as a disguise by young men visiting the Yoshiwara.

koto: the 13-stringed Japanese zither, played with three finger plectra and with movable bridges on each string. Revived as a solo and chamber ensemble instrument from the 17th century onwards.

kumiuta: song-suite, usually with an accompaniment of *shamisen* or *koto.*

kurohon: "black book": type of *kusa-zōshi* (q.v.), of smallish format, popular in the middle 18th century, and with contents similar to the *aohon* (q.v.).

kusazōshi: general name for popular illustrated books of the Edo period, usually fiction, usually in several volumes, and differentiated for the most part by the colour of their covers. Cf. *akahon, aohon, kibyōshi, kurohon.*

kyōka: "mad poem": type of light verse, usually in *haiku* form, and very popular from about the middle 18th century. Many collections of *kyōka* were issued, with illustrations by *ukiyoe* artists.

Kyūshū: southernmost of the four largest Japanese islands.

maiko: see *odoriko.*

Man-yōshū: "Collection of 10,000 Leaves": the oldest anthology of Japanese poetry, compiled in the late 8th century.

meibutsu: "famous thing": noted product of a particular area or place.

meisho: "famous place": usually a beauty spot or historic monument. There are canonical lists of *meisho* in different parts of Japan.

mitate-e: print or other picture in which some famous or historical person or event is facetiously translated into modern terms.

Miyako-za: one of the Edo Kabuki theatres. Founded 1633 by Miyako Dennai, and, after disappearing around the turn of the century, was refounded 1793 during a brief interruption in the life of the Nakamura-za.

mon: crest-badge: the Japanese equivalent of Western heraldic symbols, but used more informally and more for purely decorative purposes than in feudal Europe.

Morita-za: one of the three main Edo theatres. Founded 1660 by Morita Tarobē, and in existence until the Tōkyō earthquake of 1923.

musha-e: prints of military men and their exploits.

musume-gata: female impersonator who specialised in the rôle of a young and beautiful girl.

nagaban: print size first seen *c.* 1800, and used e.g. by Utamaro and Hokusai: about 56 x 25 cms.

nagauta: "long song": an important type of Kabuki lyrical music, usually performed with an ensemble of various instruments and as the accompaniment to a descriptive solo dance. Popular on the Edo stage from about the 1720s, and at its height from about 1750.

Nakamura-za: one of the three main Kabuki theatres in Edo. Founded as the Saruwaka-za in 1624, and finally ceased to exist in 1893.

Nara-ehon: type of hand-illustrated story-album produced from the later 16th to about the middle 18th centuries, especially at Tōdaiji, Kōfukuji and other monasteries in Nara.

Nō: type of classical masked drama perfected by Kannami Kiyotsugu (1333-84) and his son Zeami Motokiyo (1364-1443) under patronage of the Ashikaga *shōgun* Yoshimitsu, and maintained during the Edo period as "official entertainment" of the military ruling class.

ōban: print size, roughly 39 x 29 cms.

obi: sash holding *kimono* (q.v.) in place. The width varied at different dates, and there were (and are) many ways of tying it. Courtesans usually, but not always, tied theirs in front.

odoriko: "dancing girl": one of the predecessors of the *geisha* (q.v.), and known in Kyōto as a *maiko.* They lasted from the 1680s until about 1750.

okabasho: "hill places": the illegal houses of pleasure in Fukagawa, Nakasu and other quarters of Edo, which were not subject to the regulations imposed on the Yoshiwara.

onnagata: female impersonators who took women's parts in Kabuki, actresses having been prohibited by the government.

ryō: the most valuable unit in gold currency.

sake: Japanese rice wine.

sambukutsui: strictly, three hanging scrolls forming a set; often used on 18th-century prints for a triptych of three sheets.

samurai: "one who serves": the military gentleman of feudal Japan.

senryū: 17-syllable light verse popular from the 1760s. Distinguished from *haiku* by its greater freedom in the choice of words and subject-matter. Often quoted on *ukiyoe* prints.

seridashi: Kabuki effect where the actor is raised through a trap door in the floor of the stage or the passage leading to it.

sha: "copied by": after an artist's name, implies either that he has copied a painting by another artist, or that he has drawn from nature.

shakkyō: "stone bridge": name for various *shosa* pieces based on the Nō play *Shakkyō,* involving a lion dancing amid peonies over a stone bridge crossing a chasm.

shakuhachi: the 5-holed, end-blown Japanese bamboo flute, played solo by *komusō* in the 18th century, and later added to the chamber music trios known as *sankyoku.*

shamisen: 3-stringed long lute, played with a large plectrum. The successor to the *biwa* (q.v.), and universally used in the Tokugawa period for popular theatre music and for the entertainment of visitors to the Yoshiwara.

shinzō: "newly built": girls aged from about 16 to 20, who attended on the senior courtesans of the Yoshiwara, and could themselves expect to become courtesans.

shirabyōshi: kind of formal dance dating from the 12th century, and performed especially by shrine prostitutes. There were many stage adaptations of the dance, in both Nō and Kabuki.

shō: free-reed mouth-organ used in *gagaku* (q.v.), consisting of 17 pipes arranged in a circle over a gourd-shaped windchest.

shōgun: title of the military dictator of Japan from 1185 to 1868. From 1603 held by the Tokugawa family, whose seat of government was in Edo.

shosa: in theatrical dance, a special type of movement and gesture which originated in the late 17th century, and developed most fully in the 1750s.

shunga: "spring pictures": erotic prints, paintings and book illustrations. Most well-known *ukiyoe* artists turned out large numbers of them as part of their routine work.

sumō: traditional Japanese wrestling, performed in a ritually purified circle by men of gigantic proportions. The aim is to throw one's opponent outside the circle.

tachiyaku: the principal male rôles in Kabuki, always heroes. Villains were *katakiyaku.*

taiko: large drum, whether of the kind used in *gagaku,* the kind used in Nō, or some other type.

Takemoto-za: Ōsaka puppet theatre founded in 1685 by Takemoto Gidayū (see *Gidayū-bushi*). Ceased operation 1767. Famous for having presented the plays of Chikamatsu Monzaemon (q.v.).

tatami: Japanese matting, of packed rice-straw, and made to standard sizes.

Tomimoto: type of *jōruri* chant developed by Tomimoto Buzennojō of Edo in 1748.

ukie: "floating pictures": prints (or paintings) which use the European system of receding perspective in an exaggerated manner, after the style of Dutch and other prints designed to be seen through a "zograscope." First made by Okumura Masanobu, *c.* 1730.

ukiyoe: "pictures of the floating world": the most general name for the popular prints, paintings and book illustrations of the Tokugawa period, and loosely defined by their style and by their subject-matter.

urushi: lacquer: often added to the pigment of hand-coloured prints, particularly in the period preceding the introduction of 2-colour printing in the 1740s.

uta: "song," "poem": traditionally, of 5 + 7 + 5 + 7 + 7 syllables (the *tanka*), or 5 + 7 + 5 + 7 + 5 + ... 7 + 7 syllables (the *chōka* or *nagauta*).

waka-onnagata: general name for actor who took rôle of girls and young unmarried women.

wakashu: handsome young man, usually homosexual.

yakusha-e: prints of actors, usually in a particular stage rôle.

yokoe: prints wider than they are high.

Yoshiwara: the licensed pleasure quarter of Edo. In the 18th century, this was the New Yoshiwara, rebuilt outside the city proper, following the Edo fire of 1657. See Nos. 25, 26, etc.

yūjo: "woman of pleasure": a prostitute. A general, non-specific term.

yukata: simple cotton robe worn by both men and women, and in fashion as a summer garment since the 18th century.

zōri: type of low sandal, made of straw, rush or bamboo: the type, but not the name, goes back to the 12th century. Cf. *geta.*

zu: "drawn by": sometimes found after an artist's name on a print. Has the same meaning as *ga* or *hitsu,* but may carry the suggestion that the artist *designed* or *mapped out* the print.

Bibliography

Note

The literature of *ukiyoe* is large, confusing and scattered, and there is still no adequate guide to it. The present bibliography comprises works referred to in the course of this book, together with a few others which have been found useful. It does not list many other sources which have been consulted, both primary and secondary, and it makes no attempt to be a comprehensive guide to the literature of eighteenth-century *ukiyoe.* For the benefit of readers who even so may be daunted by its length, the following is a rough analysis of its contents:

1. Catalogues of institutional and of private collections: e.g. TKH, Gunsaulus (1955), Gentles (1965), Binyon (1916), Ledoux (1942, 1945, 1948, 1950).
2. Catalogues of exhibitions: e.g. Gookin (1908, 1915), Vignier (1909, 1910), Stern (1969), Hillier (1970).
3. Catalogues of auction sales: e.g. Hayashi (1902), Haviland (1922, 1927), Gookin (1921, 1922, 1926), Sotheby (1910.5.23, etc.).
4. Collections of documentary source material: e.g. Sobu (1930), NOZ, OS, KN, KND, NKS.
5. Studies of *ukiyoe* in general: e.g. UZ, UT, UTS, NHBZ, Binyon and Sexton (1923), Yoshida (1965-71).
6. Studies of particular artists: e.g. Gookin (1931), Hirano (1939), Shibui (1964), Hillier (1957, 1961).
7. General reference works and encyclopaedias: e.g. DJ, DJJ, DKJ, EHD, KSM, NBD, NCD, SDHJ, Atsumi (1956), Ōmagari (1955).
8. Background studies: e.g. Dunn (1966), Furukawa (1968), Iba (1928), Iizuka (1926), Wakatsuki (1943), Ōmagari (1938), Ozaki (1925).

I cannot claim to have made consistent use of all the works referred to, since a researcher's table will hold only so many books, and his time and patience are finite. There is no doubt that much more information remains to be gleaned about any one of the prints in this catalogue. This could be done above all by collating further public and private collections, and by combing carefully through the many published and unpublished collections of Tokugawa documents, which have been used directly by hardly any writers on *ukiyoe.*

A

Abbreviations of Titles and of Names Cited in the Text

AIC	The Art Institute of Chicago. See Gunsaulus (1955) and Gentles (1965).
BM	British Museum, London. See Binyon (1916).
DJ	*Daijiten.* 26 vols. Tōkyō; Heibonsha, 1934-36. (Repr., 13 vols., 1953-54).
DJJ	*Dai jinmei jiten.* 10 vols. Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1953-55.
DKJ	*Dai Kan-Wa jiten.* 13 vols. By Morohashi Tetsuji. Tōkyō: Taishūkan Shoten, 1955-60.
EGY	*Engeki gedai yōran.* Ed. Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai. Tōkyō: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1937 (repr. 1954).
EHD	*Engeki hyakka daijiten.* Ed. Engeki Hakubutsukan, Waseda Daigaku. 6 vols. Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1960-62.
FAM	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.
GJ	*Geinō jiten.* Ed. Kawatake Shigetoshi. Tōkyō: Tōkyōdō, 1953.
KN	*Kabuki nempyō.* By Ihara Toshirō; ed. Kawatake Shigetoshi and Yoshida Teruji. 8 vols. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1956-63.
KND	*Hana no Edo Kabuki nendaiki.* By Tachikawa Enba. 9 vols. Edo and Ōsaka, 1811-12. 2nd ed., 1841. Modern edd.: (1) rev. Yoshida Teruji. Tōkyō: Kabuki Shuppan-bu, 1926. (2) In *Nihon koten zenshū.* 3 vols. Tōkyō: Nihon Koten Zenshū Kankōkai, 1928-9. (3) Lithographic reproduction: 10 vols. Tōkyō: Tōyōdō, 1893. References in this catalogue are to Yoshida's edition.
KSM	*Kokusho sō mokuroku.* 8 vols. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1963-72.
KT	*Kokka taikan.* Ed. Matsushita Daizaburō *et al.* 2 vols. Tōkyō: Kawai Matsudaira, 1903.
MFAB	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
NBD	*Nihon bungaku daijiten* (*Zōho kaitei*). Ed. Fujimura Tsukuru. 8 vols. Tōkyō: Shinchōsha, 1950-52.
NCD	*Nihon chimei daijiten.* 6 vols. Ed. Sawada Hisao. Tōkyō: Nihon Shobō & Heibonsha, 1937-38.
NKS	*Nihon kayō shūsei.* Ed. Takano Tatsuyuki. 12 vols. Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1928-29.
NOZ	*Nihon ongyoku zenshū.* Ed. Nakauchi Chōji and Tamura Nishio. 15 vols. Tōkyō: Seibundō, 1927-29.
OS	*Ongyoku sōsho.* Ed. Kawakami Kunimoto. 6 vols. Tōkyō: Engei Chinsho Kankōkai, 1914-15.
PMA	Philadelphia Museum of Art.
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
SDHJ	*Sekai dai hyakka jiten.* 32 vols. Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1955-59.
TKH	*Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan zuhan mokuroku. Ukiyoe hanga hen.* 3 vols. Tōkyō: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1960-63.
UT	*Ukiyoe taisei.* 12 vols. Tōkyō: Tōhō Shoin, 1930-1.
UTS	*Ukiyoe taika shūsei.* 20 vols. Tōkyō: Daihōkaku Shobō, 1931-32.
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